PLUTARCH's LIVES.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

Tranſlated from the GREEK.

With EXPLANATORY and CRITICAL NOTES, from DACIER and others.

To which is prefixed,

The Life of PLUTARCH; written by Mr DRYDEN.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING

THESEUS,	SOLON,
ROMULUS,	POPLICOLA,
LYCURGUS,	THEMISTOCLES,
NUMA,	CAMILLUS.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

Adapted to PLUTARCH'S LIVES, by M. DACIER.

Anno Mun.	Years before the 1st Olympiad.		Years before the building of Rome.	Years before the incarn.
2437	737	DEucalion's deluge, ſo called, becauſe it happened in his reign, *viz.* 15 or 16 years before the departure of the children of Iſrael out of Egypt.	761	1511
2547	627	Minos I. the ſon of Jupiter and Europa, reigned in Crete 110 years after the deluge. He was a juſt prince.	651	1401
2698	486	Minos II. the ſon of Lycaſte, grandſon of the firſt, ſucceeded his father, and was a tyrant.	500	1250
		THESEUS.		
2720	454	The expedition of the Argonauts, towards the year of the world 2720. It is not to be doubted but Theſeus was then living; for he was in company with Jaſon, and his ſon Demophoon was at the ſiege of Troy, which happened 40 years after that expedition.	478	1228
2768	406	Troy taken. Jephtha was then judge in Iſrael.	430	1180
2847	327	The return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, 80 years after the deſtruction of Troy.	351	1101
2880	294	The firſt war of the Athenians againſt Sparta, wherein Codrus devoted himſelf for the ſake of his country. Saul the firſt king of Iſrael.	318	1068
2894	288	The Helots ſubdued by Agis king of Sparta.	304	1055
2908	266	The Ionic migration, 140 years after the deſtruction of Troy.	290	1040
		LYCURGUS		
3045	129	Lived in the days of Eliſha the prophet. Thales the muſician flouriſhed at the ſame time.	153	904

A.M.			A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3174	i	*The first Olympiad.*	25	774
	Year of th. Olympiad.	ROMULUS.	Year of	
3198	vii. 1.	Rome built the first year of the seventh Olympiad.	Rome.	750
3201	4.	The rape of the Sabins.	4	747
3235	xvi. 1.	The death of Romulus.	38	713
		NUMA		
3236	3.	Chosen king.	39	712
3279	xxvii. 2.	Dies.	82	669
		SOLON.		
3350	xlv. 1.	We cannot be at a loss to know when it was that Solon flourished, since he lived under Pisistratus, who made himself master of Athens in the fiftieth Olympiad. Solon was older than him 25 or 30 years.	153	598
		Cylon's conspiracy.		
3354	xlvi. 1.	Epimenides arrives at Athens. The seven wise men. Æsop. Anacharsis the Scythian.	157	594
3356	xlvi. 3.	Solon made archon.	159	592
		Crœsus king of Lydia.		
3370	l. 1.	Pythagoras arrives in Italy.	173	578
3391	lv. 2.	Cyrus king of Persia.	194	557
3401	lvii. 4.	Crœsus taken.	204	547
		VALERIUS POPLICOLA		
3442	lxviii. 1.	Chosen consul in the room of Collatinus.	245	506
		Brutus engages in single combat with Aruns, the eldest son of Tarquin. Both are killed.		
3444	3.	Poplicola consul the third time. Horatius Pulvillus his colleague dedicates the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.	247	504
		Horatius Cocles defends the Sublician bridge against the Tuscans.		
3448	lxix. 3.	The death of Poplicola.	251	500
3459	lxxii. 1.	Under this year is set down the battle of Marathon, wherein Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was defeated by Miltiades general of the Athenians. But in truth that battle was not fought till two years after, *viz.* in the third year of the seventy-	262	489

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		ſecond Olympiad. Themiſtocles and Ariſtides were in the action.		
		CORIOLANUS		
3460	lxxii. 2.	Was driven into exile, becauſe he oppoſed diſtributing among the people the corn that had been imported from Sicily. He retired to the Volſci.	263	488
3462	lxxiii. 1.	The birth of Herodotus.	265	486
3463	2.	Coriolanus lays ſiege to Rome, but withdraws his troops at the importunity of his wife and mother. Whereupon, at his return, he is ſtoned to death by the Volſci.	266	485
		ARISTIDES		
3467	lxxiv. 2.	Baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm, and recalled three years after.	270	481
		THEMISTOCLES.		
3470	lxxv. 1.	The battle at Salamin, wherein Xerxes, the ſon of Darius, was overthrown by Themiſtocles, general of the Athenians, and Eurybiades the Spartan.	273	478
3471	2.	The battle of Platæa, wherein Mardonius was overthrown by Ariſtides and Pauſanias.	274	477
3474	lxxvi. 1.	The birth of Thucydides.	277	474
3479	lxxvii. 2.	Themiſtocles baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm.	282	469
		CIMON,		
3480	3.	Son of Miltiades, ſomething younger than Themiſtocles, lived at the ſame time. Sent into Aſia, where he overthrows the Perſians both by ſea and land.	283	468
3481	4.	The birth of Socrates. He lived 71 years.	284	467
3500	lxxxii. 3.	Cimon dies. This year Alcibiades was born. Herodotus and Thucydides flouriſhed. Thucydides was younger than Herodotus by 12 or 13 years.	303	448

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		PERICLES,		
3519	lxxxvii. 2.	The ſon of Xanthippus, promoter of the Peloponneſian war, which was likewiſe called *the war of Archidamus*, becauſe he was at that time king of Sparta. This war laſted 27 years. Pericles was Alcibiades's tutor. He was very young when the Decemvirs went to Athens for Solon's laws.	322	429
3521	4.	The death of Pericles.	324	427
3522	lxxxviii. 1.	The birth of Plato.	325	426
		Xerxes murdered by Artabanus.		
		NICIAS.		
3535	xci. 2.	The Athenians make war in Sicily at the inſtigation of Alcibiades: this enterpriſe is oppoſed by Nicias, but to no purpoſe.	338	413
3537	4.	Nicias being overthrown in Sicily, is taken and put to death.	340	411
		ALCIBIADES,		
3538	xcii. 1.	Younger than Nicias, with whom he was at variance for a long time. He withdrew to Sparta the year the Athenians began the war in Sicily. But upon information that his life was in danger he fled to Tiſaphernes, lieutenant to Darius.	341	410
3539	2.	Dionyſius the elder makes himſelf tyrant of Sicily.	342	409
		LYSANDER		
3545	xciii. 4.	Puts an end to the Peloponneſian war, which had laſted 27 years, and eſtabliſhed the thirty tyrants at Athens. Xenophon flouriſhed at the ſame time. He was contemporary with Thucydides, though ſomething younger, and begins his hiſtory where Thucydides leaves off. Thus theſe three hiſtorians, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon follow each other, and take in all the hiſtory of Greece.	348	403
3546	xciv. 1.	Alcibiades murdered by order of Pharnabazus.	349	402

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		ARTAXERXES MNEMON,		
3549	xciv. 4.	Son of Darius, and brother of the younger Cyrus. He began his reign when Lyſander made himſelf maſter of Athens. Overthrows hi brother in a great battle. The Grecians who were in the army of Cyrus made a glorious retreat, which is admirably deſcribed by Xenophon.	352	399
3550	xcv. 1.	The death of Socrates.	353	398
		AGESILAUS		
3553	xcv. 4.	Was younger than Lyſander who was his lover. Aſcends the Spartan throne after the death of his brother Agis.	356	395
3554	xcvi. 1.	Sends Lyſander into the Helleſpont.	357	394
3555	2.	Ageſilaus overthrows the Perſian horſe. The death of Lyſander.	358	393
3561	xcvii. 4.	The Romans overthrown at Allia.	364	387
		CAMILLUS.		
3562	xcviii. 1.	Retires to Ardea.	365	386
3566	xcix. 1.	The birth of Ariſtotle.	369	382
3569	4.	The birth of Demoſthenes.	372	379
3574	ci. 1.	Chabrias defeats the Lacedæmonians.	377	374
3579	cii. 2.	Peace concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The ſame year happened the famous battle at Leuctra, wherein the Lacedæmonians under the conduct of Cleombrotus, were defeated by the Thebans, who were commanded by Epaminondas. Cleombrotus fell in the action.	382	369
		PELOPIDAS,		
3580	cii. 3.	The Theban general. He commanded the ſacred band at Leuctra.	383	368
3582	ciii. 1.	Dionyſius the elder dies, and is ſucceeded in the tyranny by his ſon Dionyſius the younger.	385	366
3584	3.	Iſocrates flouriſhed, being much younger than Plato.	387	364

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		TIMOLEON		
3585	ciii. 4.	Kills his brother Timophanes, who aimed at the tyranny of Corinth.	388	363
3586	civ. 1.	Pelopidas overthrows Alexander tyrant of Pheræ, but is ſlain himſelf in the action.	389	362
3587	2.	The famous battle of Mantinea, wherein Epaminondas prevailed, but was ſlain by the ſon of Xenophon the hiſtorian.	390	361
3588	3.	Camillus dies.	391	360
3589	4.	The death of Artaxerxes. Ageſilaus dies the ſame year.	392	359
		DION.		
3593	cv. 4.	He drives Dionyſius the younger out of Sicily.	396	355
3594	cvi. 1.	The birth of Alexander the Great.	397	354
3596	3.	Dion aſſaſſinated by Calippus.	399	352
		DEMOSTHENES		
3598	cvii. 1.	Begins to declaim againſt Philip.	401	350
3602	cviii. 1.	The death of Plato.	405	346
3605	4.	Timoleon ſent into Sicily to the aſſiſtance of Syracuſe.	408	343
3607	cix. 2.	Dionyſius the younger ſent to Corinth.	410	341
3609	4.	The birth of Epicurus.	412	339
3610	cx. 1.	Timoleon overthrows the Carthaginians in a great battle.	413	338
3612	3.	The famous battle at Chæronea, wherein the Thebans and Athenians were overthrown by Philip. His ſon Alexander had the command of one of the wings.	415	336
3613	4.	The death of Timoleon.	416	335
		ALEXANDER the GREAT		
3614	cxi. 1.	Declared general of all Greece againſt the Perſians, upon the death of his father Philip.	417	334
3616	3.	The battle of Granicus.	419	332
3619	cxii. 2.	The battle of Arbela.	422	329
3623	cxiii. 2.	Porus vanquiſhed.	426	325
3627	cxiv. 1.	The death of Alexander.	430	321

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		PHOCION		
3632	cxv. 3.	Retires to Polyperchon, by whom he is betrayed, and delivered up to the Athenians, who put him to death.	435	316
		EUMENES		
3634	cxvi. 1.	Was one of Alexander's chief commanders, and had ſerved under Philip. He is betrayed to Antigonus, who puts him to death.	437	314
		DEMETRIUS,		
3636	cxvi. 3.	Surnamed *Poliocretes*, or the *Taker of cities*, ſon of Antigonus, left in Syria at the head of the army when he was no more than twenty-two years old.	439	312
3643	cxviii. 2.	He reſtores the Athenians to their liberty.	446	305
		PYRRHUS,		
3670	cxxv. 1.	King of Epire, contemporary with Demetrius, paſſeth over into Italy, where he is defeated by Lævinus the conſul.	473	278
3685	cxxviii. 4.	The firſt Punic war, which held 24 years.	488	263
3696	cxxxi. 3.	The birth of Philopœmen.	499	252
		ARATUS		
3699	cxxxii. 1.	Of Sicyon delivers his country from the tyranny of Nicocles.	502	249
		AGIS and CLEOMENES,		
3723	cxxxviii. 2.	Contemporaries with Aratus, who was overthrown by Cleomenes.	526	225
		PHILOPOEMEN		
3727	cxxxix. 2.	Was thirty years old when Cleomenes took the city of Megalopolis. At the ſame time lived Hannibal, Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, and Scipio Africanus.	530	221
3731	cxl. 2.	The ſecond Punic war, which laſted 18 years.	534	217

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3733	cxl. 4.	Hannibal overthrows the Conſul Flaminius at the Thraſymene lake.	536	215
3734	cxli. 1.	And the conſuls Varro and L. Æmilius at Cannæ.	537	214
3736	3.	Beaten by Marcellus at Nola.	539	212
3738	cxlii. 1.	Marcellus takes Syracuſe.	541	210
3741	4.	Fabius Maximus makes himſelf maſter of Tarentum.	544	207
3747	cxliv. 2.	The death of Fabius Maximus.	550	201
3749	4.	Scipio triumphs for the conqueſt of Africa.	552	199
		T. QUINTUS FLAMINIUS		
3752	cxlv. 3.	Declared conſul before he was thirty years old.	555	196
		CATO the CENSOR		
		Lived at the ſame time, for he was with Fabius Maximus at the taking of Tarentum, when he was about twenty-one or twenty-two years of age.		
3754	cxlvi. 1.	Greece reſtored to her liberty by T. Q. Flaminius.	557	194
3755	2.	Cato triumphs for his conqueſts in Spain.	558	193
3766	cxlix. 1.	Scipio Africanus dies.	569	182
3767	2.	Philopœmen dies.	570	181
		In the ſame year was the firſt conſulate of		
		PAULUS ÆMILIUS,		
		The ſon of Lucius Æmilius, who was defeated by Hannibal at Cannæ.		
3782	cliii. 1.	In his ſecond conſulate he overthrew Perſeus, and took him priſoner. Judas Macchabæus lived, and Terence flouriſhed at the ſame time.	585	166
3790	clv. 1.	Æmilius dies.	593	158
3794	clvi. 1.	The birth of Marius.	597	154
3801	clvii. 4.	The third Punic war, which laſted four years.	604	147
		The death of Cato the Cenſor.		
3804	clviii. 3.	Scipio the younger, ſon of Paulus Æmilius, deſtroys Carthage.	607	144

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		TIBERIUS and CAIUS GRACCHUS.		
3827	clxiv. 2.	The laws of Caius Gracchus.	630	121
		MARIUS		
3843	clxviii. 2.	Goes into Afric againſt Jugurtha.	646	105
		The birth of Cicero.		
3844	3.	The birth of Pompey.	647	104
3846	clxix. 1.	Marius in his ſecond conſulate is ſent againſt the Cimbri.	649	102
3850	clxx. 1.	The birth of Julius Cæſar under the ſixth conſulate of Marius.	653	98
		SYLLA		
3855	clxxi. 2.	Sent into Cappadocia at the expiration of his prætorſhip.	658	93
3862	clxxiii. 1.	Makes himſelf maſter of Rome.	665	86
3863	2.	And of Athens.	666	85
		Marius dies the ſame year.		
		SERTORIUS		
3867	clxxiv. 2.	Sent into Spain.	670	81
3868	3.	The younger Marius overthrown by Sylla, who ſoon after defeats Pontius Teleſinus at the gates of Rome. He enters the city, is created dictator, and exerciſes all manner of cruelties.	671	80
		MARCUS CRASSUS		
		Enriches himſelf out of the eſtates of thoſe who had been proſcribed by Sylla. He was older than Pompey.		
		POMPEY		
3869	clxxiv. 4.	Sent into Afric at twenty-five years of age, and defeats Domitius.	672	79
		CATO of UTICA		
		Was younger than Pompey; for he was but fourteen years old when Sylla was in the height of his cruelties.		

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		CICERO		
3870	clxxv. 1.	Defends Roſcius, oppreſſed underhand by Sylla.	673	78
3871	2.	Sylla abdicates the dictatorſhip, and dies the year following.	674	77
3874	clxxvi. 1.	Pompey engages Sertorius in Spain.	677	74
		LUCULLUS		
3877	clxxvi. 4.	Sent againſt Mithridates at the expiration of his conſulſhip.	680	71
3879	clxxvii. 2.	Sertorius aſſaſſinated in Spain. Craſſus conſul with Pompey.	682	69
3881	4.	Tigranes overthrown by Luculſus.	684	67
3887	clxxix. 2.	The death of Mithridates. Pompey forces the temple at Jeruſalem. Auguſtus born.	690	61
		JULIUS CÆSAR		
3891	clxxx. 2.	Declared conſul with Bibulus, obtains Illyrium and the two Gauls with four legions. Marries his daughter Julia to Pompey.	694	57
3897	clxxxi. 4.	Craſſus taken, and ſlain by the Parthians.	700	51
3902	clxxxiii. 1.	Cæſar defeats Pompey in the plains of Pharſalia. Pompey flies into Egypt, where he is murdered.	705	46
3903	2.	Cæſar makes himſelf maſter of Alexandria, ſubdues Egypt, goes into Syria, marches againſt Pharnaces king of Pontus, and defeats him.	706	45
3904	3.	He overthrows Juba, Scipio, and Petreius in Afric, and obtains four triumphs. Cato kills himſelf at Utica.	707	44
3905	4.	Cæſar defeats Pompey's ſons at Munda in Spain. Cneius falls in the action, and Sextus flies into Sicily. Cæſar triumphs for the fifth time.	708	43
		BRUTUS.		
3906	clxxxiv. 1.	Cæſar is killed by Brutus and Caſſius.	709	42
3907	2.	Brutus marches into Macedonia.	710	41

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		M. ANTONIUS		
3907	clxxxiv. 2.	Overthrown the ſame year by Auguſtus at Modena. He retires towards Lepidus. The triumvirate of Auguſtus, Antony, and Lepidus, who divide the empire between them.	710	41
3908	3.	The battle at Philippi, where Brutus and Caſſius being overthrown by Auguſtus and Antony, lay violent hands on themſelves.	711	40
3909	4.	Antony confederates with Sextus Pompeius againſt Auguſtus.	712	39
3910	clxxxv. 1.	Auguſtus and Antony are reconciled after the death of Fulvia the wife of Antony, who thereupon marries Octavia, Cæſar's ſiſter.	713	38
3918	clxxxvii. 1.	New grounds of war between Auguſtus and Antony.	721	30
3919	2.	The battle of Actium, where Antony is defeated, and flies with Cleopatra into Egypt.	722	29
3920	3.	Auguſtus makes himſelf maſter of Alexandria. Antony kills himſelf, and Cleopatra follows his example.	723	28
				Poſt J. C.
		GALBA.		
3947	cxciv. 2.	Galba born in the ſame year with Jeſus Chriſt.	750	
3981	ccii. 4.	The birth of Otho.	784	34
3982	cciii. 1.	Galba conſul.	785	35
4018	ccxi. 4.	The revolt of Vindex. Nero killed, and Galba declared emperor.	820	70
		OTHO		
4019	ccxii. 1.	Revolts againſt Galba, kills him and ſeizes the empire. Three months after which he is overthrown by Vitellius, and kills himſelf.	821	71

The following account of ſuch weights, meaſures, and denominations of money as are mentioned by Plutarch, is taken from Dr ARBUTHNOT*'s tables.*

	lb.	*oz.*	*pwt.*	*gr.*
The Roman libra or pound -	00	10	18	$13\frac{5}{7}$
The Attic mina or pound -	00	11	07	$16\frac{2}{7}$
The Attic talent equal to 60 minæ	56	11	00	$17\frac{1}{7}$

	Pecks.	*gall.*	*pints.*
The Roman modius - -	1	0	$0\frac{2}{9}$
The Attic chœnix very nearly -	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$
The Attic medimnus - -	4	0	$6\frac{1}{10}$

	Gall.	*pints.*
The cotyle a little more than -	0	$0\frac{1}{2}$
The chus - - - - -	0	$6\frac{9}{10}$

	Eng. paces.	*feet.*	*inch.*
The Roman foot - -	00	0	$11\frac{3}{5}$
The Roman cubit - -	00	1	$05\frac{2}{5}$
The Roman pace - -	00	4	10
The Roman furlong - -	120	4	$04\frac{1}{2}$
The Roman mile - -	967	0	00
The Grecian cubit - -	00	1	$06\frac{1}{8}$
The Grecian furlong - -	100	4	$04\frac{1}{2}$

	L.	*s.*	*d.*	*qrs.*
The quadrans about - -	00	00	0	$0\frac{3}{4}$
The as - - -	00	00	0	$3\frac{1}{10}$
The ſeſtertius - -	00	00	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
The ſeſtertium equal to 1000 ſeſtertii - - -	08	01	5	2
The denarius - -	00	00	7	3
The Attic obolus - -	00	00	1	$1\frac{1}{6}$
The drachma - - -	00	00	7	3
The mina equal to 100 drachmæ	03	04	7	0
The talent equal to 60 minæ	193	15	0	0
The ſtater daricus - -	01	12	3	2

THE LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

Written by Mr DRYDEN.

I Know not by what fate it comes to paſs, that hiſtorians, who give immortality to others, are ſo ill requited by poſterity, that their actions and their fortunes are uſually forgotten; neither themſelves encouraged while they live, nor their memory preſerved entire to future ages. It is the ingratitude of mankind to their greateſt benefactors, that they, who teach us wiſdom by the ſureſt ways, (ſetting before us what we ought to ſhun, or to purſue, by the examples of the moſt famous men whom they record, and by the experience of their faults and virtues), ſhould generally live poor and unregarded; as if they were born only for the public, and had no intereſt in their own wellbeing, but were to be lighted up like tapers, and to waſte themſelves for the benefit of others. But this is a complaint too general, and the cuſtom has been too long eſtabliſhed to be remedied; neither does it wholly reach our author; he was born in an age which was ſenſible of his virtue; and found a Trajan to reward him, as Ariſtotle did an Alexander. But the hiſtorians who ſucceeded him, have either been too envious, or too careleſs of his reputation, none of them, not even his own coun-

trymen, having given us any particular account of him; or if they have, yet their works are not tranſmitted to us: ſo that we are forced to glean from Plutarch, what he has ſcattered in his writings concerning himſelf, and his original. Which (excepting that little memorial, that Suidas, and ſome few others, have left concerning him) is all we can collect, relating to this great philoſopher and hiſtorian.

He was born at Chæronea, a ſmall city of Bœotia in Greece, between Attica and Phocis, and reaching to both ſeas. The climate not much befriended by the heavens; for the air is thick and foggy; and conſequently the inhabitants partaking of its influence, groſs feeders, and fat-witted; brawny, and unthinking, juſt the conſtitution of heroes: cut out for the executive and brutal buſineſs of war; but ſo ſtupid in the deſigning part, that in all the revolutions of Greece they were never maſters, but only in thoſe few years, when they were led by Epaminondas, or Pelopidas. Yet this foggy air, this country of fat weathers, as Juvenal calls it, produced three wits, which were comparable to any three Athenians: Pindar, Epaminondas, and our Plutarch; to whom we may add a fourth, Sextus Chæronenſis, the preceptor of the learned emperor Marcus Aureſius, and the nephew of our author.

Chæronea (if we may give credit to Pauſanias, in the ninth book of his deſcription of Greece) was anciently called *Arnè*, from Arnè the daughter of Æolus; but being ſituated to the weſt of Parnaſſus in that lowland country, the natural unwholſomeneſs of the air was augmented by the evening-vapours caſt upon it from that mountain, which our late travellers deſcribe to be full of moiſture and marſhy ground incloſed in the inequality of its aſcents: and being alſo expoſed to the winds which blew from that quarter, the town was perpetually unhealthful; for which reaſon, ſays my author, Chæron, the ſon of Apollo and Thero, made it be rebuilt,

rebuilt, and turned it towards the riſing ſun: from whence the town became healthful, and conſequently populous: in memory of which benefit, it afterwards retained his name. But as etymologies are uncertain, and the Greeks, above all nations, given to fabulous derivations of names, eſpecially when they tend to the honour of their country, I think we may be reaſonably content to take the denomination of the town from its delightful or cheerful ſtanding; as the word *Chæron* ſufficiently implies.

But to loſe no time in theſe grammatical etymologies, which are commonly uncertain gueſſes, it is agreed that Plutarch was here born; the year uncertain; but without diſpute in the reign of Claudius.

Joh. Gerard Voſſius has aſſigned his birth in the latter end of that emperor: ſome other writers of his life, have left it undecided, whether then, or in the beginning of Nero's empire: but the moſt acurate Rualdus (as I find it in the Paris edition of Plutarch's works) has manifeſtly proved him to be born in the middle time of Claudius, or ſomewhat lower. For Plutarch in the inſcription at Delphos, of which more hereafter, remembers that Ammonius his maſter diſputed with him and his brother Lamprias concerning it, when Nero made his progreſs into Greece, which was in his twelfth year; and the queſtion diſputed could not be managed with ſo much learning as it was by mere boys; therefore he was then ſixteen, or rather eighteen years of age.

Xylander has obſerved, that Plutarch himſelf, in the life of Pericles, and that of Anthony, has mentioned both Nero and Domitian as his contemporaries. He has alſo left it on record in his Sympoſiaques, that his family was ancient in Chæronea; and that, for many deſcents, they had borne the moſt conſiderable offices in that petty commonwealth. The chiefeſt of which was known by the name of *Archon* amongſt the Grecians; by that of *Prætor*

Urbis among the Romans; and the dignity and power was not much different from that of our Lord Mayor of London. His great-grandfather Nicarchus perhaps enjoyed that office in the diviſion of the empire betwixt Auguſtus Cæſar and Mark Anthony. And when the civil wars enſued betwixt them, Chæronea was ſo hardly uſed by Anthony's lieutenant, or commiſſary there, that all the citizens without exception were ſervilely employed to carry on their ſhoulders a certain proportion of corn from Chæronea, to the coaſt overagainſt the iſland of Antycira, with the ſcourge held over them, if at any time they were remiſs: which duty after once performing, being injoined the ſecond time with the ſame ſeverity, juſt as they were preparing for their journey, the welcome news arrived, that Mark Anthony had loſt the battle of Actium; whereupon both the officers and ſoldiers, belonging to him in Chæronea, immediately fled for their own ſafety; and the proviſions thus collected, were diſtributed among the inhabitants of the city.

This Nicarchus, the great-grandfather of Plutarch, among other ſons, had Lamprias, a man eminent for his learning; and a philoſopher, of whom Plutarch has made frequent mention in his Sympoſiaques, or Table-converſations; and amongſt the reſt, there is this obſervation of him, that he diſputed beſt, and unravelled the difficulties of philoſophy with moſt ſucceſs when he was at ſupper, and well warmed with wine. Theſe table-entertainments were part of the education of thoſe times, their diſcourſes being commonly the canvaſſing and ſolution of ſome queſtion, either philoſophical or philological, always inſtructive, and uſually pleaſant; for the cups went round with the debate; and men were merry and wiſe together, according to the proverb. The father of Plutarch is alſo mentioned in thoſe diſcourſes, whom our author repreſents as arguing of ſeveral points in philoſophy; but his

his name is no where to be found in any part of the works remaining to us. But yet he ſpeaks of him as a man not ignorant in learning and poetry, as may appear by what he ſays, when he is introduced diſputing in the Sympoſiaques; where alſo his prudence and humanity are commended, in this following relation. Being yet very young, (ſays Plutarch), I was joined in commiſſion with another in an embaſſy to the Proconſul, and my colleague falling ſick was forced to ſtay behind, ſo that the whole buſineſs was tranſacted by me alone. At my return, when I was to give account to the commonwealth of my proceedings, my father riſing from his ſeat, openly injoined me not to name myſelf in the ſingular number, *I did thus, or thus, I ſaid to the Proconſul; but, Thus we did, and thus we ſaid,* always aſſociating my companion with me, though abſent in the management. This was done to obſerve, as I may ſuppoſe, the point of good manners with his colleague, that of reſpect to the government of the city, who had commiſſioned both, to avoid envy, and perhaps more eſpecially to take off the forwardneſs of a pert young miniſter, commonly too apt to over-value his own ſervice, and to quote himſelf on every inconſiderable occaſion. The father of Plutarch had many children beſides him; Timon and Lamprias, his brothers, were bred up with him, all three inſtructed in the liberal ſciences, and in all parts of philoſophy. It is manifeſt from our author, that they lived together in great friendlineſs, and in great veneration to their grandfather and father. What affection Plutarch bore in particular to his brother Timon, may be gathered from theſe words of his: *As for myſelf, though fortune on ſeveral occaſions has been favourable to me, I have no obligation ſo great to her, as the kindneſs and entire friendſhip, which my brother Timon has always borne and ſtill bears me: and this is ſo evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our acquaintance.* Lamprias, the youngeſt of the

three, is introduced by him in his Morals, as one of a ſweet and pleaſant converſation, inclined to mirth and raillery; or, as we ſay in Engliſh, a well-humoured man, and a good companion. The whole family being thus addicted to philoſophy, it is no wonder if our author was initiated betimes in ſtudy, to which he was naturally inclined. In purſuit of which he was ſo happy, to fall into good hands at firſt; being recommended to the care of Ammonius an Egyptian, who having taught philoſophy with great reputation at Alexandria, and from thence travelling into Greece, ſettled himſelf at laſt in Athens, where he was well received and generally reſpected. At the end of Themiſtocles's life, Plutarch relates, that being young, he was a penſioner in the houſe of this Ammonius; and in his Sympoſiaques he brings him in diſputing with his ſcholars, and giving them inſtruction. For the cuſtom of thoſe times was very much different from theſe of ours, where the greateſt part of our youth is ſpent in learning the words of dead languages. The Grecians, who thought all barbarians but themſelves, deſpiſed the uſe of foreign tongues; that the firſt elements of their breeding was the knowledge of nature, and the accommodation of that knowledge, by moral precepts, to the ſervice of the public, and the private offices of virtue: the maſters employing one part of their time in reading to, and diſcourſing with their ſcholars; and the reſt, in appointing them their ſeveral exerciſes, either in oratory or philoſophy, and ſetting them to declaim and to diſpute amongſt themſelves. By this liberal ſort of education, ſtudy was ſo far from being a burden to them, that in a ſhort time it became a habit; and philoſophical queſtions, and criticiſms of humanity, were their uſual recreations at their meals. Boys lived then as the better ſort of men do now; and their converſation was ſo well-bred and manly, that they did not plunge out of their depth

depth into the world, when they grew up; but ſlid eaſily into it, and found no alteration in their company. Amongſt the reſt, the reading and quotations of poets were not forgotten at their ſuppers, and in their walks; but Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles, were the entertainment of their hours of freedom. Rods and ferula's were not uſed by Ammonius, as being properly the puniſhment of ſlaves, and not the correction of ingenious free-born men; at leaſt to be only exerciſed by parents, who had the power of life and death over their own children; as appears by the example of this Ammonius, thus related by our author.

"Our maſter," ſays he, "one time perceiving at his afternoon-lecture, that ſome of his ſcholars had eaten more largely than became the moderation of ſtudents, immediately commanded one of his freemen to take his own ſon, and ſcourge him in our ſight: becauſe," ſaid the philoſopher, "my young gentleman could not eat his dinner without poignant ſauce or vinegar; and at the ſame time he caſt his eye on all of us: ſo that every criminal was given to underſtand, that he had a ſhare in the reprehenſion, and that the puniſhment was as well deſerved by all the reſt, had the philoſopher not known, that it exceeded his commiſſion to inflict it."

Plutarch therefore having the aſſiſtance of ſuch a maſter, in few years advanced to admiration in knowledge: and that without firſt travelling into foreign parts, or acquiring any foreign tongue; though the Roman language at that time was not only vulgar in Rome itſelf, but generally through the extent of that vaſt empire, and in Greece, which was a member of it; as our author has remarked towards the end of his Platonic queſtions. For, like a true philoſopher, who minded things, not words, he ſtrove not even to cultivate his mother-tongue with any great exactneſs. And himſelf confeſſes in the beginning of Demoſthenes's life, that, during his abode

abode in Italy and at Rome, he had neither the leiſure to ſtudy, nor ſo much as to exerciſe the Roman language, (I ſuppoſe he means to write in it, rather than to ſpeak it), as well by reaſon of the affairs he managed, as that he might acquit himſelf to thoſe who were deſirous to be inſtructed by him in philoſophy. In ſo much, that, till the declination of his age, he began not to be converſant in Latin books; in reading of which it happened ſomewhat oddly to him, that he learned not the knowledge of things by words; but by the underſtanding and uſe he had of things, attained to the knowledge of words which ſignified them. Juſt as Adam (ſetting aſide divine illumination) called the creatures by their proper names, by firſt underſtanding their natures. But for the delicacies of the tongue, the turns of the expreſſion, the figures and connections of words, in which conſiſts the beauty of that language, he plainly tells us, that though he much admired them, yet they required too great labour for a man in age, and plunged in buſineſs, to attain perfectly. Which compliment I ſhould be willing to believe from a philoſopher, if I did not conſider, that Dion Caſſius, nay even Herodian and Appian after him, as well as Polybius before him, by writing the Roman hiſtory in the Greek language, had ſhewn as manifeſt a contempt of Latin, in reſpect of the other, as Frenchmen now do of Engliſh, which they diſdain to ſpeak while they live among us: but with great advantage to their trivial conceptions, drawing the diſcourſe into their own language, have learned to deſpiſe our better thoughts, which muſt come deformed and lame in converſation to them, as being tranſmitted in a tongue of which we are not maſters. This is to arrogate a ſuperiority in nature over us, as undoubtedly the Grecians did over their conquerors, by eſtabliſhing their language for a ſtandard; it being become ſo much a mode to ſpeak and write Greek in Tully's time, that

that with ſome indignation I have read his epiſtles to Atticus, in which he deſires to have his own conſulſhip written by his friend in the Grecian language, which he afterwards performed himſelf; a vain attempt in my opinion, for any man to endeavour to excel in a tongue which he was not born to ſpeak. This, though it be a digreſſion, yet deſerves to be conſidered at more leiſure; for the honour of our wit and writings, which are of a more ſolid make than that of our neighbours, is concerned in it. But to return to Plutarch: As it was his good fortune to be moulded firſt by maſters the moſt excellent in their kind, ſo it was his own virtue, to ſuck in with an incredible deſire, and earneſt application of mind, their wiſe inſtructions; and it was alſo his prudence ſo to manage his health by moderation of diet and bodily exerciſe, as to preſerve his parts without decay to a great old age; to be lively and vigorous to the laſt, and to preſerve himſelf to his own enjoyments, and to the profit of mankind. Which was not difficult for him to perform, having received from nature a conſtitution capable of labour, and from the domeſtic example of his parents, a ſparing ſobriety of diet, a temperance in other pleaſures, and above all, a habitude of commanding his paſſions in order to his health. Thus principled and grounded, he conſidered with himſelf, that a larger communication with learned men was neceſſary for his accompliſhment; and therefore, having a ſoul inſatiable of knowledge, and being ambitious to excel in all kinds of ſcience, he took up a reſolution to travel. Egypt was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous for learning; and probably the myſterioufneſs of their doctrines might tempt him, as it had done Pythagoras and others, to converſe with the prieſthood of that country, which appears to have been particularly his buſineſs, by the treatiſe of Iſis and Oſiris, which he has left us: in which he ſhews himſelf not mean-

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ly verſed in the ancient theology and philology of thoſe wiſe men. From Egypt returning into Greece, he viſited in his way all the academies, or ſchools of the ſeveral philoſophers, and gathered from them many of thoſe obſervations with which he has enriched poſterity.

Beſides this, he applied himſelf, with extreme diligence, to collect not only all books which were excellent in their kind, and already publiſhed, but alſo all ſayings and diſcourſes of wiſe men, which he had heard in converſation, or which he had received from others by tradition: as likewiſe the records and public inſtruments, preſerved in cities, which he had viſited in his travels; and which he afterwards ſcattered through his works. To which purpoſe he took a particular journey to Sparta, to ſearch the archives of that famous commonwealth, to underſtand thoroughly the model of their ancient government, their legiſlators, their kings, and their ephori, digeſting all their memorable deeds and ſayings with ſo much care, that he has not omitted thoſe even of their women, or their private ſoldiers; together with their cuſtoms, their decrees, their ceremonies, and the manner of their public and private living, both in peace and war. The ſame methods he alſo took in divers other commonwealths; as his Lives and his Greek and Roman queſtions ſufficiently teſtify. Without theſe helps it had been impoſſible for him to leave in writing ſo many particular obſervations of men and manners, and as impoſſible to have gathered them, without converſation and commerce with the learned antiquaries of his time. To theſe he added a curious collection of ancient ſtatues, medals, inſcriptions, and paintings, as alſo of proverbial ſayings, epigrams, epitaphs, apophthegms, and other ornaments of hiſtory, that he might leave nothing unſwept behind him. And as he was continually in company with men of learning in all profeſſions, ſo his memory

mory was always on the ſtretch, to receive and lodge their diſcourſes; and his judgment perpetually employed in ſeparating his notions, and diſtinguiſhing which were fit to be preſerved, and which to be rejected.

By benefit of this, in a little time he enlarged his knowledge to a great extent in every ſcience: himſelf, in the beginning of the treatiſe which he has compoſed of *content and peace of mind*, makes mention of thoſe collections, or common-places, which he had long ſince drawn together for his own particular occaſions: and it is from this rich cabinet that he has taken out thoſe excellent pieces which he has diſtributed to poſterity, and which give us occaſion to deplore the loſs of the reſidue, which either the injury of time, or the negligence of copiers have denied to us. On this account, though we need not doubt to give him this general commendation, that he was ignorant of no ſort of learning, yet we may juſtly add this farther, that whoever will conſider through the whole body of his works, either the deſign, the method, or the contexture of his diſcourſes, whether hiſtorical or moral, or queſtions of natural philoſophy, or ſolutions of problems mathematical; whether he arraigns the opinions of other ſects, or eſtabliſhes the doctrines of his own: in all theſe kinds there will be found, both the harmony of order, and the beauty of eaſineſs; his reaſons ſo ſolid and convincing, his inductions ſo pleaſant and agreeable to all ſorts of readers, that it muſt be acknowledged he was maſter of every ſubject which he treated, and treated none but what were improveable to the benefit of inſtruction. For we may perceive in his writings, the deſire he had to imprint his precepts on the ſouls of his readers; and to lodge morality in families, nay even to exalt it to the thrones of ſovereign princes, and to make it the rule and meaſure of their government. Finding that there were many ſects of philoſophers

philoſophers then in vogue, he ſearched into the foundation of all their principles and opinions; and not content with this diſquiſition, he traced them to their ſeveral fountains: ſo that the Pythagorean, Epicurean, Stoic, and Peripatetic philoſophy, were familiar to him. And though it may be eaſily obſerved, that he was chiefly inclined to follow Plato (whoſe memory he ſo much reverenced, that annually he celebrated his birthday, and alſo that of Socrates); yet he modeſtly contained himſelf within the bounds of the latter academy, and was content, like Cicero, only to propound and weigh opinions, leaving the judgment of his readers free, without preſuming to decide dogmatically. Yet it is to be confeſſed, that, in the midſt of this moderation, he oppoſed the two extremes of the Epicurean and Stoic ſects: both of which he has judiciouſly combated in ſeveral of his treatiſes, and both upon the ſame account, becauſe they pretend too much to certainty in their dogmas, and to impoſe them with too great arrogance; which he, who (following the academiſts) doubted more and pretended leſs, was no way able to ſupport. The Pyrrhonians, or groſſer ſort of Sceptics, who bring all certainty in queſtion, and ſtartle even at the notions of common ſenſe, appeared as abſurd to him on the other ſide; for there is a kind of poſitiveneſs in granting nothing to be more likely on one part than on another, which his academy avoided, by inclining the balance to that hand, where the moſt weighty reaſons, and probability of truth were viſible. The moral philoſophy therefore was his chiefeſt aim, becauſe the principles of it admitted of leſs doubt; and becauſe they were moſt conducing to the benefit of human life. For, after the example of Socrates, he had found that the ſpeculations of natural philoſophy were rather delightful than ſolid and profitable; that they were abſtruſe and thorny, and had much of ſophiſm in the ſolution of appearances:

ances: that the mathematics indeed could reward his pains with many demonſtrations; but though they made him wiſer, they made him not more virtuous, and therefore attained not the end of happineſs: for which reaſon, though he had far advanced in that ſtudy, yet he made it but his recreation, not his buſineſs. Some problem of it was his uſual divertiſement at ſupper, which he mingled alſo with pleaſant and more light diſcourſes. For he was no ſour philoſopher, but paſſed his time as merrily as he could, with reference to virtue: he forgot not to be pleaſant while he inſtructed; and entertained his friends with ſo much cheerfulneſs and good humour, that his learning was not nauſeous to them; neither were they afraid of his company another time. He was not ſo auſtere as to deſpiſe riches; but being in poſſeſſion of a large fortune, he lived, though not ſplendidly, yet plentifully; and ſuffered not his friends to want that part of his eſtate, which he thought ſuperfluous to a philoſopher.

The religion he profeſſed, to ſpeak the worſt of it, was Heathen. I ſay the religion he profeſſed; for it is no way probable, that ſo great a philoſopher, and ſo wiſe a man, ſhould believe the ſuperſtitions and fopperies of Paganiſm; but that he accommodated himſelf to the uſe, and received cuſtoms of his country. He was indeed a prieſt of Apollo, as himſelf acknowledges; but that proves him not to have been a Polytheiſt.

I have ever thought, that the wiſe men in all ages have not much differed in their opinions of religion; I mean as it is grounded on human reaſon. For reaſon, as far as it is right, muſt be the ſame in all men: and truth being but one, they muſt conſequently think in the ſame train. Thus it is not to be doubted, but the religion of Socrates, Plato, and Plutarch, was not different in the main; who doubtleſs believed the identity of one ſupreme intellectual being, which we call GOD. But becauſe they who

have written the life of Plutarch in other languages, are contented barely to aſſert, that our author believed one God, without quoting thoſe paſſages of his which would clear the point; I will give you two of them, amongſt many, in his Morals. The firſt is in his book of the ceſſation of oracles; where, arguing againſt the Stoics (in behalf of the Platoniſts) who diſputed againſt the plurality of worlds with this argument: *That if there were many worlds, how then could it come to paſs, that there was one only fate, and one providence to guide them all? (for it was granted by the Platoniſts, that there was but one): and why ſhould not many Jupiters or Gods be neceſſary for the government of many worlds?* To this Plutarch anſwers, *That this their capacious queſtion was but trifling; for where is the neceſſity of ſuppoſing many Jupiters, for this plurality of worlds? when one excellent being, endued with mind and reaſon, ſuch as he is, whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, is ſufficient to direct and rule theſe worlds; whereas, if there were more ſupreme agents, their decrees muſt ſtill be the more abſurd and contradictious to one another.* I pretend not this paſſage to be tranſlated word for word, but it is the ſenſe of the whole, though the order of the ſentence be inverted. The other is more plain: it is in his comment on the word *EI*, or thoſe two letters inſcribed on the gates of the temple at Delphos: where having given the ſeveral opinions concerning it, as firſt, that εἰ ſignifies *if*, becauſe all the queſtions which were made to Apollo began with *if*; as ſuppoſe they aſked, *if* the Grecians ſhould overcome the Perſians; *if* ſuch a marriage ſhould come to paſs, *&c.*; and afterwards, that εἰ might ſignify *thou art*, as the ſecond perſon of the preſent tenſe of εἰμὶ, intimating thereby the being or perpetuity of being belonging to Apollo, as a God; in the ſame ſenſe that God expreſſed himſelf to Moſes, *I AM hath ſent thee*; Plutarch ſubjoins (as inclining to this latter opinion) theſe following words:

εἰ

ἓν εἶ, ſays he, *ſignifies Thou art one, for there are not many Deities, but only one.* Continues, *I mean not one in the aggregate ſenſe, as we ſay one army, or one body of men, conſtituted of many individuals; but that which is, muſt of neceſſity be one; and to be, implies to be one. One is that which is a ſimple being, uncompounded, or free from mixture: therefore to be one in this ſenſe, is only conſiſtent with a nature, pure in itſelf, and not capable of alteration, or decay.*

That he was no Chriſtian, is manifeſt: yet he is no where found to have ſpoken with contumely of our religion, like the other writers of his age, and thoſe who ſucceeded him. Theodoret ſays of him, *That he had heard of our holy goſpel; and inſerted many of our ſacred myſteries in his works:* which we may eaſily believe, becauſe the Chriſtian churches were then ſpread in Greece; and Pliny the younger was at the ſame time converſant amongſt them in Aſia, though that part of our author's works is not now extant, from whence Theodoret might gather thoſe paſſages. But we need not wonder, that a philoſopher was not eaſy to embrace the divine myſteries of our faith. A modern God, as our Saviour was to him, was of hard digeſtion to a man, who probably deſpiſed the vanities and fabulous relations of the old. Beſides, a crucified Saviour of mankind, a doctrine atteſted by illiterate diſciples, the author of it a Jew, whoſe nation at that time was deſpicable, and his doctrine but an innovation among that deſpiſed people, to which the learned of his own country gave no credit, and which the magiſtrates of his nation puniſhed with an ignominious death; the ſcene of his miracles acted in an obſcure corner of the world; his being from eternity, yet born in time, his reſurrection and aſcenſion, theſe and many more particulars might eaſily choke the faith of a philoſopher, who believed no more than what he could deduce from the principles of nature; and that too with a doubtful academical aſſent, or ra-

ther an inclination to aſſent to probability: which he judged was wanting in this new religion. Theſe circumſtances conſidered, though they plead not an abſolute invincible ignorance in his behalf, yet they amount at leaſt to a degree of it: for either he thought them not worth weighing, or rejected them when weighed; and in both caſes he muſt of neceſſity be ignorant, becauſe he could not know without revelation, and the revelation was not to him. But leaving the ſoul of Plutarch, with our charitable wiſhes, to his maker, we can only trace the reſt of his opinions in religion from his philoſophy: which we have ſaid in the general to be Platonic; though it cannot alſo be denied, that there was a tincture in it of the Electic ſect; which was begun by Potamon under the empire of Auguſtus, and which ſelected from all the other ſects what ſeemed moſt probable in their opinions, not adhering ſingularly to any of them, nor rejecting every thing. I will only touch his belief of ſpirits. In his two treatiſes of oracles, the one concerning the reaſon of their ceſſation, the other inquiring why they were not given in verſe, as in former times; he ſeems to aſſert the Pythagorean doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls. We have formerly ſhewn, that he owned the unity of a Godhead; whom, according to his attributes, he calls by ſeveral names, as Jupiter from his almighty power, Apollo from his wiſdom, and ſo of the reſt; but under him he places thoſe beings whom he ſtyles *Genii* or *Dæmons*, of a middle nature, betwixt divine and human. For he thinks it abſurd, that there ſhould be no mean betwixt the two extremes, of an immortal and a mortal being: that there cannot be in nature ſo vaſt a flaw, without ſome intermedial kind of life, partaking of them both; as therefore we find the intercourſe betwixt the ſoul and body to be made by the animal ſpirits, ſo betwixt divinity and humanity there is the ſpecies of Dæmons: who, having firſt been men,

men, and following the ſtrict rules of virtue, had purged off the groſſneſs and fæculency of their earthly being, are exalted into theſe Genii, and are from thence either raiſed higher into an æthereal life, if they ſtill continue virtuous, or tumbled down again into mortal bodies, and ſinking into fleſh after they have loſt that purity, which conſtituted their glorious being. And this ſort of Genii are thoſe, who, as our author imagines, preſided over oracles: ſpirits which have ſo much of their terreſtrial principles remaining in them, as to be ſubject to paſſions and inclinations, uſually beneficent, ſometimes malevolent to mankind, according as they refine themſelves, or gather droſs, and are declining into mortal bodies. The ceſſation, or rather the decreaſe of oracles (for ſome of them were ſtill remaining in Plutarch's time) he attributes either to the death of thoſe Dæmons, as appears by the ſtory of the Egyptian Thamus, who was commanded to declare, that the great god Pan was dead, or to their forſaking of thoſe places, where they formerly gave out their oracles; from whence they were driven by ſtronger Genii, into baniſhment for a certain revolution of ages. Of this laſt nature was the war of the giants againſt the gods, the diſpoſſeſſion of Saturn by Jupiter, the baniſhment of Apollo from heaven, the fall of Vulcan, and many others; all which, according to our author, were the battles of theſe Genii or Dæmons, amongſt themſelves. But ſuppoſing, as Plutarch evidently does, that theſe ſpirits adminiſtered, under the ſupreme being, the affairs of men, taking care of the virtuous, puniſhing the bad, and ſometimes communicating with the beſt; as particularly, the genius of Socrates always warned him of approaching dangers, and taught him to avoid them.

I cannot but wonder, that every one who has hitherto written Plutarch's life, and particularly Rualdus, the moſt knowing of them all, ſhould ſo con-

fidently affirm, that theſe oracles were given by bad ſpirits, according to Plutarch. As Chriſtians indeed we may think them ſo; but that Plutarch ſo thought, is a moſt apparent falſehood: it is enough to convince a reaſonable man, that our author in his old age, (and that then he doted not, we may ſee by the treatiſe he has written, that old men ought to have the management of public affairs); I ſay, that then he initiated himſelf in the ſacred rites of Delphos; and died, for ought we know, Apollo's prieſt. Now, it is not to be imagined, that he thought the God he ſerved a Cacodæmon, or, as we call him, a Devil. Nothing could be farther from the opinion and practice of this holy philoſopher than ſo groſs an impiety. The ſtory of the Pythias, or prieſteſs of Apollo, which he relates immediately before the ending of that treatiſe, concerning the ceſſation of oracles, confirms my aſſertion rather than ſhakes it: for it is there delivered, "That going with "great reluctancy into the ſacred place to be inſpi- "red, ſhe came out foaming at the mouth, her "eyes gogling, her breaſt heaving, her voice undiſ- "tinguiſhable and ſhrill, as if ſhe had an earth- "quake within her, labouring for vent; and in "ſhort, that thus tormented with the God, whom "ſhe was not able to ſupport, ſhe died diſtracted in "few days after." For he had ſaid before, "that "the divineress ought to have no perturbations of "mind, or impure paſſions at the time when ſhe "was to conſult the oracle; and if ſhe had, ſhe "was no more fit to be inſpired, than an inſtrument "untuned, to render an harmonious ſound:" and he gives us to ſuſpect, by what he ſays at the cloſe of this relation, "That this Pythias had not lived "chaſtely for ſome time before it. So that her "death appears more like a puniſhment inflicted for "looſe living by ſome holy power, than the mere "malignancy of a ſpirit delighted naturally in miſ- "chief." Here is another obſervation which indeed

indeed comes nearer to their purpoſe, which I will digreſs ſo far as to relate, becauſe it ſomewhat appertains to our own country: "There are many "iſlands," ſays he, "which lie ſcattered about "Britain, after the manner of our Sporades: they "are unpeopled, and ſome of them are called "*the iſlands of the heroes, or the Genii.*" One Demetrius was ſent by the emperor, (who by computation of the time muſt either be Caligula, or Claudius), to diſcover thoſe parts; and arriving at one of the iſlands next adjoining to the forementioned, which was inhabited by ſome few Britons, (but thoſe held ſacred and inviolable by all their countrymen), immediately after his arrival, the air grew black and troubled, ſtrange apparitions were ſeen, the winds raiſed a tempeſt, and fiery ſpouts of whirlwinds appeared dancing towards the earth. When theſe prodigies were ceaſed, the iſlanders informed him, that ſome one of the aereal beings, ſuperior to our nature, then ceaſed to live. For as a taper, while yet burning, affords a pleaſant harmleſs light, but is noiſome and offenſive when extinguiſhed, ſo thoſe heroes ſhine benignly on us, and do us good, but at their death turn all things topſy turvy, raiſe up tempeſts, and infect the air with peſtilential vapours. By thoſe holy and inviolable men, there is no queſtion but he means our Druides, who are neareſt to the Pythagoreans of any ſect; and this opinion of the Genii might probably be one of theirs: yet it proves not that all dæmons were thus malicious; only thoſe who were to be condemned hereafter into human bodies for their miſdemeanors in their aereal being. But it is time to leave a ſubject ſo very fanciful, and ſo little reaſonable as this: I am apt to imagine the natural vapours ariſing in the cave where the temple afterwards was built, might work upon the ſpirits of thoſe who entered the holy place, as they did on the ſhepherd Coretas, who firſt found it out by accident;

cident; and incline them to enthuſiaſm and prophetic madneſs. That as the ſtrength of thoſe vapours diminiſhed, (which were generally in caverns, as that of Mopſus, of Trophonius, and this of Delphos), ſo the inſpiration decreaſed by the ſame meaſures: that they happened to be ſtronger, when they killed the Pythias, who being conſcious of this, was ſo unwilling to enter. That the oracles ceaſed to be given in verſe, when poets ceaſed to be the prieſts; and that the genius of Socrates (whom he confeſſed never to have ſeen, but only to have heard inwardly, and unperceived by others) was no more than the ſtrength of his imagination; or, to ſpeak in the language of a Chriſtian Platoniſt, his guardian angel.

I pretend not to an exactneſs of method in this life, which I am forced to collect by patches from ſeveral authors; and therefore without much regard to the connection of times which are ſo uncertain.

I will, in the next place, ſpeak of his marriage. His wife's name, her parentage, and dowery, are nowhere mentioned by him or any other, nor in what part of his age he married; though it is probable, in the flower of it: but Rualdus has ingeniouſly gathered, from a convincing circumſtance, that ſhe was called *Timoxena:* becauſe Plutarch, in a conſolatory letter to her, occaſioned by the death of their daughter in her infancy, uſes theſe words: *Your Timoxena is deprived (by death) of ſmall enjoyments; for the things ſhe knew were of ſmall moment, and ſhe could be delighted only with trifles.* Now, it appears by the letter, that the name of this daughter was the ſame with her mother's, therefore it could be no other than Timoxena. Her knowledge, her conjugal virtues, her abhorrency from the vanities of her ſex, and from ſuperſtition, her gravity in behaviour, and her conſtancy in ſupporting the loſs of children, are likewiſe celebrated by our author. No other

wife

wife of Plutarch is found mentioned; and therefore we may conclude he had no more: by the ſame reaſon for which we judge, that he had no other maſter than Ammonius, becauſe it is evident he was ſo grateful in his nature, that he would have preſerved their memory.

The number of his children was at leaſt five; ſo many being mentioned by him. Four of them were ſons; of the other ſex only Timoxena, who died at two years old, as is manifeſt from the epiſtle above mentioned. The French tranſlator Amiot, from whom our old Engliſh tranſlation of the lives was made, ſuppoſes him to have had another daughter, where he ſpeaks of his ſon-in-law Crato. But the word γαμβρὸς, which Plutarch there uſes, is of a large ſignification; for it may as well be expounded father-in-law, his wife's brother, or his ſiſter's huſband, as Budæus notes. Two other ſons of Plutarch were already deceaſed, before Timoxena; his eldeſt Autobulus, mentioned in his Sympoſiaques, and another whoſe name is not recorded. The youngeſt was called *Charon*, who alſo died in his infancy: the two remaining are ſuppoſed to have ſurvived him. The name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own, and that of the other *Lamprias*, ſo called in memory of his grandfather. This was he, of all his children, who ſeems to have inherited his father's philoſophy: and to him we owe the table or catalogue of Plutarch's writings, and perhaps alſo the Apophthegms. His nephew, but whether by his brother or ſiſter remains uncertain, was Sextus Chæroneus, who was much honoured by that learned emperor Marcus Aurelius, and who taught him the Greek tongue, and the principles of philoſophy: this emperor profeſſing Stoiciſm, (as appears by his writings), inclines us to believe, that our Sextus Chæroneus was of the Stoic ſect; and conſequently, that the world has generally been miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him to have been the ſame man with Sextus Empiricus.

Empiricus the Sceptic; whom Suidas plainly tells us to have been an African: now, Empiricus could not but be a ſceptic, for he oppoſes all dogmatiſts, and particularly them. But I heard it firſt obſerved by an ingenious and learned old gentleman lately deceaſed, that many of Mr Hobbes's ſeeming new opinions, are gathered from thoſe which Sextus Empiricus expoſed. The book is extant, and I refer the curious to it, not pretending to arraign, or to excuſe him. Some think the famous critic Longinus was of Plutarch's family, deſcended from a ſiſter of his; but the proofs are ſo weak, that I will not inſert them: they may both of them rely on their proper merits; and ſtand not in want of a relation to each other. It is needleſs to inſiſt on his behaviour in his family: his love to his wife, his indulgence to his children, his care of their education, are all manifeſt in that part of his works which is called his *Morals*. Other parts of his diſpoſition have been touched already; as that he was courteous and humane to all men; free from inconſtancy, anger, and the deſire of revenge: which qualities of his, as they have been praiſed by the authority of other writers, may alſo be recommended from his own teſtimony of himſelf. *I had rather*, ſays he, *be forgotten in the memory of men, and that it ſhould be ſaid, there neither is, nor was a man called* Plutarch, *than that they ſhould report this Plutarch was inconſtant, changeable in his temper, prone to anger and revenge on the leaſt occaſion.* What he was to his ſlaves, you may believe from this, that in general he accuſes thoſe maſters of extreme hardneſs and injuſtice, who uſe men like oxen; ſell them in their age, when they can drudge no longer. *A man*, ſays he, *of a merciful diſpoſition, ought not to retrench the fodder from his cattle, nor the provender from his horſes when they can work no longer, but to cheriſh them when worn out and old.* Yet Plutarch, though he knew how to moderate his anger, was not, on the contrary, ſubject to an inſenſibility of wrongs; not ſo remiſs

remiſs in exacting duty, or ſo tame in ſuffering the diſobedience of his ſervants, that he could not correct when they deſerved it: as is manifeſt from the following ſtory, which Aulus Gellius had from the mouth of Taurus the philoſopher concerning him. *Plutarch had a certain ſlave, a ſaucy ſtubborn kind of fellow; in a word, one of thoſe pragmatical ſervants, who never make a fault, but they give a reaſon for it: his juſtification one time would not ſerve his turn, but his maſter commanded him to be ſtripped; and that the law ſhould be laid on his backſide. He no ſooner felt the ſmart, but he muttered that he was unjuſtly puniſhed, and that he had done nothing to deſerve the ſcourge. At laſt he began to baul out louder; and, leaving off his groaning, his ſighs, and his lamentations, to argue the matter with more ſhew of reaſon; and as, under ſuch a maſter, he muſt needs have gained a ſmattering of learning, he cried out, that Plutarch was not the philoſopher he pretended himſelf to be; that he had heard him waging war againſt all the paſſions, and maintaining that anger was unbecoming a wiſe man: nay, that he had written a particular treatiſe in commendation of clemency: That therefore he contradicted his precepts by his practices; ſince abandoning himſelf over to his choler, he exerciſed ſuch inhuman cruelty on the body of his fellow-creature. How is this, (Mr Varlet), anſwered Plutarch, by what ſigns and tokens can you prove I am in paſſion? Is it by my countenance, my voice, the colour of my face, by my words, or by my geſtures, that you have diſcovered this my fury? I am not of opinion, that my eyes ſparkle, that I foam at mouth, that I gnaſh my teeth, or that my voice is more vehement, or that my colour is either more pale, or more red than at other times; that I either ſhake or ſtamp with madneſs; that I ſay or do any thing unbecoming a philoſopher: theſe, if you know them not, are the ſymptoms of a man in rage: in the mean time, turning to the officer who ſcourged him, while he and I diſpute this matter, mind you your buſineſs on his back.*

His

His love to his friends and his gratitude to his benefactors are every where obſervable, in his dedications of his ſeveral works; and the particular treatiſes he has written to them on ſeveral occaſions, are all ſuitable either to the characters of the men, or to their preſent condition, and the circumſtances under which they were. His love to his country is from hence conſpicuous, that he profeſſes to have written the life of Lucullus, and to have preſerved the memory of his actions, becauſe of the favours he conferred on the city of Chæronea; which though his country received ſo long before, yet he thought it appertained to him to repay them, and took an intereſt in their acknowledgment. As alſo, that he vindicated the Bœotians from the calumnies of Herodotus the hiſtorian, in his book concerning the malignity of that author. In which it is obſervable, that his zeal to his country tranſported him too far; for Herodotus had ſaid no more of them than what was generally held to be true in all ages, concerning the groſſneſs of their wits, their voracity, and thoſe other national vices, which we have already noted on this account; therefore Petrarch has accuſed our author of the ſame malignity, for which he taxed Herodotus. But they may both ſtand acquitted on different accounts: Herodotus, for having given a true character of the Thebans; and Plutarch, for endeavouring to palliate the vices of a people from whom he was deſcended. The reſt of his manners, without entering into particulars, were unblameable, if we excuſe a little proneneſs to ſuperſtition, and regulating his actions by his dreams. But how far this will bear an accuſation, I determine not; though Tully has endeavoured to ſhew the vanity of dreams, in his treatiſe of divination, whither I refer the curious.

On what occaſion he repaired to Rome, at what time of his age he came thither, how long he dwelt there, how often he was there, and in what year he returned

returned to his own country, are all uncertain: this we know, that when Nero was in Greece, which was in his eleventh or twelfth years, our author was at Delphos, under Ammonius, his maſter; as appears by the diſputation then managed, concerning the inſcription of the two letters EI. Nero not living long afterwards, it is almoſt indiſputable, that he came not to Rome in all his reign. It is improbable that he would undertake the voyage during the troubleſome times of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; and we are not certain that he lived in Rome in the empire of Veſpaſian: yet we may gueſs, that the mildneſs of this emperor's dominion, his fame, and the virtues of his ſon Titus, aſſumed into the empire afterwards by his father, might induce Plutarch, amongſt other conſiderations, to take this journey in his time. It is argued from the following ſtory, related by himſelf, that he was at Rome, either in the joint reign of the two Veſpaſians, or at leaſt in that of the ſurvivor Titus. He ſays then, in his laſt book concerning Curioſity: "Reaſoning, or "rather reading once at Rome, Arulenus Ruſti-"cus, the ſame man whom afterwards Domitian "put to death out of envy to his glory, ſtood "hearkening to me amongſt my auditors: it ſo "happened, that a ſoldier, having letters for him "from the emperor, (who was either Titus, or "his father Veſpaſian, as Rualdus thinks), broke "through the croud, to deliver him thoſe letters "from the Emperor. Obſerving this, I made a "pauſe in my diſſertation, that Ruſticus might "have the leiſure to read the mandate which was "ſent him; but he abſolutely refuſed to do it, nei-"ther would he be intreated to break the ſeals, till "I had wholly made an end of my ſpeech, and "diſmiſſed the company." Now, I ſuppoſe the ſtreſs of the argument, to prove that this emperor was not Domitian, lies only in this clauſe *(whom Domitian afterwards put to death)*: but I think it rather leaves

it doubtful; for they might be Domitian's letters which he then received, and conſequently he might not come to Rome till the reign of that Emperor. This Ruſticus was not only a learned, but a good man: he had been tribune of the people under Nero, was prætor in the time of Vitellius, and ſent ambaſſador to the forces raiſed under the name of Veſpaſian, to perſuade them to a peace. What offices he bore afterwards, we know not; but the cauſe of his death, beſides the envy of Domitian to his fame, was a certain book, or ſome commentaries of his, wherein he had praiſed too much the ſanctity of Thraſea Pætus, whom Nero had murdered: and the praiſe of a good citizen was inſupportable to the tyrant; being, I ſuppoſe, exaſperated farther by ſome reflections of Ruſticus, who could not commend Thraſea, but at the ſame time he muſt inveigh againſt the oppreſſor of the Roman liberty. That Plutarch was married in his own country, and that before he came to Rome, is probable; that the fame of him was come before him, by reaſon of ſome part of his works already publiſhed, is alſo credible, becauſe he had ſo great reſort of the Roman nobility, to hear him read, immediately, as we believe, upon his coming: that he was invited thither by the correſpondence he had with Soſſius Senecio, might be one reaſon of his undertaking that journey, is almoſt undeniable. It likewiſe appears he was divers times at Rome; and perhaps before he came to inhabit there, might make acquaintance with this worthy man Senecio, to whom he dedicated almoſt all theſe lives of Greeks and Romans. I ſay almoſt all; becauſe one of them, namely, that of Aratus, is inſcribed in moſt expreſs words to Polycrates the Sicyonian, the great-grandſon of the ſaid Aratus. This worthy patron and friend of Plutarch, Senecio, was four times conſul; the firſt time in the ſhort reign of Cocceius Nerva, a virtuous and a learned emperor; which opinion I rather follow than

than that of Aurelius Caſſiodorus, who puts back his conſulſhip into the laſt of Domitian, becauſe it is not probable that vitious tyrant ſhould exalt to that dignity a man of virtue. This year falls in with the year of Chriſt ninety-nine.

But the great inducement of our author to this journey, was certainly the deſire he had to lay in materials for his Roman lives; that was the deſign which he had formed early, and on which he had reſolved to build his fame. Accordingly we have obſerved, that he had travelled over Greece to peruſe the archives of every city; that he might be able to write properly, not only the lives of his Grecian worthies, but the laws, the cuſtoms, the rites and ceremonies of every place. Which that he might treat with the ſame maſtery of ſkill, when he came to draw his parallels of the Romans, he took the invitation of his friends, and particularly of our Soſſius Senecio, to viſit this miſtreſs of the world, this imperial city of Rome; and, by the favour of many great and learned men then living, to ſearch the records of the capitol, and the libraries, which might furniſh him with inſtruments for ſo noble an undertaking. But that this may not ſeem to be my own bare opinion, or that of any modern author whom I follow, Plutarch himſelf has delivered it as his motive, in the life of Demoſthenes. The words are theſe: "Whoſoever deſigns to write a hiſtory, "(which it is impoſſible to form to any excellency "from thoſe materials that are ready at hand, or "to take from common report, while he ſits lazily "at home in his own ſtudy, but muſt of neceſſity "be gathered from foreign obſervations, and the "ſcattered writings of various authors), it concerns "him to take up his habitation in ſome renowned "and populous city, where he may command all "ſorts of books, and be acquainted alſo with ſuch "particulars as have eſcaped the pens of writers, "and are only extant in the memories of men.

" Let him inquire diligently, and weigh judiciouſ-
" ly, what he hears and reads, leſt he publiſh a
" lame work, and be deſtitute of thoſe helps which
" are required to its perfection." It is then moſt probable, that he paſſed his days at Rome, either in reading philoſophy of all kinds to the Roman nobility, who frequented his houſe, and heard him, as if there were ſomewhat more than human in his words; and his nights (which were his only hours of private ſtudy) in ſearching and examining records concerning Rome. Not but that he was intruſted alſo with the management of public affairs in the empire, during his reſidence in the metropolis: which may be made out by what Suidas relates of him. *Plutarch*, ſays he, *lived in the time of Trajan, and alſo before his reign: that emperor beſtowed on him the dignity of conſul*, (though the Greek, I ſuppoſe, will bear, that he made him conſul with himſelf, at leaſt transferred that honour on him): *an edict was alſo made in favour of him, That the magiſtrates or officers of Illyria ſhould do nothing in that province without the knowledge and approbation of Plutarch.* Now, it is my particular gueſs, (for I have not read it any where), that Plutarch had the affairs of Illyria (now called *Sclavonia*) recommended to him; becauſe Trajan, we know, had wars on that ſide the empire, with Decebalus King of Dacia; after whoſe defeat and death, the province of Illyria might ſtand in need of Plutarch's wiſdom to compoſe and civilize it. But this is only hinted, as what poſſibly might be the reaſon of our philoſopher's ſuperintendency in thoſe quarters; which the French author of his life ſeems to wonder at, as having no relation either to Chæronea or Greece.

When he was firſt made known to Trajan, is like the reſt uncertain, or by what means, whether by Senecio, or any other, he was introduced to his acquaintance: but it is moſt likely, that Trajan, then a private man, was one of his auditors, amongſt others

thers of the nobility of Rome. It is alſo thought, this wiſe emperor made uſe of him in all his counſels, and that the happineſs which attended him in his undertakings, together with the adminiſtration of the government, which in all his reign was juſt and regular, proceeded from the inſtructions which were given him by Plutarch. Johannes Sariſberienſis, who lived above ſix hundred years ago, has tranſcribed a letter written, as he ſuppoſed, by our author to that Emperor: whence he had it, is not known, nor the original in Greek to be produced; but it paſſed for genuine in that age; and if not Plutarch's, is at leaſt worthy of him, and what might well be ſuppoſed a man of his character would write; for which reaſon I have here tranſlated it.

PLUTARCH to TRAJAN.

I Am ſatisfied that your modeſty ſought not the empire, which yet you have always ſtudied to deſerve by the excellency of your manners. And by ſo much the more are you eſteemed worthy of this honour, by how much you are free from the ambition of deſiring it. I therefore congratulate both your virtue, and my own good fortune, if at leaſt your future government ſhall prove anſwerable to your former merit: otherwiſe you have involved yourſelf in dangers, and ſhall infallibly be ſubject to the cenſures of detracting tongues; becauſe Rome will never ſupport an emperor unworthy of her, and the faults of the ſcholar will be upbraided to the maſter. Thus Seneca is reproached, and his fame ſtill ſuffers for the vices of Nero. The miſcarriages of Quintilian's ſcholars have been thrown on him; and even Socrates himſelf is not free from the imputation of remiſſneſs, on the account of his pupil, Alcibiades. But you will certainly adminiſter all things as becomes you, if you ſtill continue what you are, if you recede not from yourſelf, if you begin at home, and lay the foundation of government on the command of your own paſſions; if you make virtue the ſcope of all your actions, they will all pro-

ceed in harmony and order: I have ſet before you the force of laws and civil conſtitutions of your predeceſſors; which if you imitate and obey, Plutarch is then your guide of living; if otherwiſe, let this preſent letter be my teſtimony againſt you, that you ſhall not ruin the Roman empire, under the pretence of the counſel and authority of Plutarch.

It may be conjectured, and with ſome ſhew of probability, from hence, that our author not only collected his materials, but alſo made a rough draught of many of theſe parallel lives at Rome, and that he read them to Trajan for his inſtruction in government: and ſo much the rather I believe it, becauſe all hiſtorians agree, that this emperor, though naturally prudent and inclined to virtue, had more of the ſoldier than the ſcholar in his education, before he had the happineſs to know Plutarch; for which reaſon the Roman lives, and the inſpection into ancient laws, might be of neceſſary uſe to his direction. And now for the time of our author's abode in the imperial city; if he came ſo early as Veſpaſian, and departed not till after Trajan's death, as is generally thought, he might continue in Italy near forty years. This is more certain, becauſe gathered from himſelf, that his lives were almoſt the lateſt of his works; and therefore we may well conclude, that having modelled, but not finiſhed them at Rome, he afterwards reſumed the work in his own country; which perfecting in his old age, he dedicated to his friend Senecio, ſtill living, as appears by what he has written in the proem to his lives.

The deſire of viſiting his own country, ſo natural to all men, and the approaches of old age, (for he could not be much leſs than ſixty), and perhaps alſo the death of Trajan, prevailed with him at laſt to leave Italy; or if you will have it in his own words, *he was not willing his little city ſhould be one the*

leſs

leſs by his abſence. After his return, he was, by the unanimous conſent of his citizens, choſen Archon, or chief magiſtrate of Chæronea; and not long after admitted himſelf into the number of Apollo's prieſts: in both which employments he ſeems to have continued till his death. Of which we have no particular account, either as to the manner of it, or the year; only it is evident, that he lived to a great old age, always continuing his ſtudies: that he died a natural death, is only preſumed, becauſe any violent accident to ſo famous a man would have been recorded. And in whatſoever reign he deceaſed, the days of tyranny were overpaſt, and there was then a golden ſeries of emperors, every one emulating his predeceſſor's virtues.

Thus I have collected from Plutarch himſelf, and from the beſt authors, what was moſt remarkable concerning him. In performing which, I have laboured under ſo many uncertainties, that I have not been able to ſatisfy my own curioſity, any more than that of others. It is the life of a philoſopher, not varied with accidents to divert the reader: more pleaſant for himſelf to live, than for an hiſtorian to deſcribe. Thoſe works of his which are irrecoverably loſt, are named in the catalogue made by his ſon Lamprias, which you will find in the Paris edition, dedicated to King Lewis XIII.; but it is a ſmall comfort to a merchant, to peruſe his bill of freight, when he is certain his ſhip is caſt away: moved by the like reaſon, I have omitted that ungrateful taſk. Yet that the reader may not be impoſed on in thoſe which yet remain, it is but reaſonable to let him know, that the lives of Hannibal and Scipio, though they paſs with the ignorant for genuine, are only the forgery of Donato Acciaiolo, a Florentine. He pretends to have tranſlated them from a Greek manuſcript, which none of the learned have ever ſeen, either before or ſince. But the cheat is more manifeſt from this reaſon,

which

which is undeniable, that Plutarch did indeed write the life of Scipio, but he compared him not with Hannibal, but with Epaminondas: as appears by the catalogue, or nomenclatura of Plutarch's lives, drawn up by his ſon Lamprias, and yet extant. But to make this out more clearly, we find the Florentine, in his life of Hannibal, thus relating the famous conference betwixt Scipio and him. "Scipio at that "time being ſent ambaſſador from the Romans to "King Antiochus, with Publius Villius; it hap-"pened then, that theſe two great captains met to-"gether at Epheſus; and, amongſt other diſcourſe, "it was demanded of Hannibal by Scipio, whom "he thought to have been the greateſt captain? To "whom he thus anſwered: In the firſt place, Alex-"ander of Macedon; in the ſecond, Pyrrhus of "Epirus; and in the third, himſelf. To which, "Scipio, ſmiling, thus replied: And what would "you have thought, had it been your fortune to "have vanquiſhed me? To whom Hannibal, I "ſhould then have adjudged the firſt place to my-"ſelf: which anſwer was not a little pleaſing to "Scipio, becauſe by it he found himſelf not diſe-"ſteemed, nor put into compariſon with the reſt; "but, by the delicacy and gallantry of a well-turn-"ed compliment, ſet like a man divine above them "all."

Now, this relation is a mere compendium of the ſame conference from Livy. But if we can conceive Plutarch to have written the life of Hannibal, it is hard to believe, that he ſhould tell the ſame ſtory after ſo different, or rather ſo contrary a manner, in another place. For in the life of Pyrrhus, he thus writes: "Hannibal adjudged the pre-eminence "to Pyrrhus above all captains, in conduct and "military ſkill: next to Pyrrhus he placed Scipio, "and after Scipio himſelf;" as we have declared in the life of Scipio. It is not that I would excuſe Plutarch, as if he never related the ſame thing di-

verſely:

verſely: for it is evident, that through want of advertency he has been often guilty of that error, of which the reader will find too frequent examples in theſe lives; but in this place he cannot be charged with want of memory or care, becauſe what he ſays here, is relating to what he had ſaid formerly. So that he may miſtake the ſtory, as I believe he has done, (that other of Livy being much more probable); but we muſt allow him to remember what he had before written. From hence I might take occaſion to note ſome other lapſes of our author, which yet amount not to falſification of truth, much leſs to partiality or envy, (both which are manifeſt in his countryman Dion Caſſius, who writ not long after him), but are only the frailties of human nature; miſtakes not intentional, but accidental. He was not altogether ſo well verſed, either in the Roman language, or in their coins, or in the value of them; in ſome cuſtoms, rites, and ceremonies, he took paſſages on truſt from others, relating both to them and the Barbarians, which the reader may particularly find recited in the animadverſions of the often-praiſed Rualdus on our author. I will name but one, to avoid tedioufneſs, becauſe I particularly obſerved it, when I read Plutarch in the library of Trinity college in Cambridge, (to which foundation I gratefully acknowledge a great part of my education). It is, that Plutarch, in the life of Cicero, ſpeaking of Verres, who was accuſed by him, and repeating a miſerable jeſt of Tully's, ſays, that *Verres* in the Roman language ſignifies a *barrow-pig*, that is, one which has been gelded. But we have a better account of the ſignification from Varro, (whom we have more reaſon to believe), that the male of that kind, before he is cut, is called *Verres*; after cutting, *Majalis*; which is perhaps a diminutive of *Mas*, though generally the reaſon of the etymology is given from its being a ſacrifice to the goddeſs Maja. Yet any man, who will candidly

ly weigh this and the like errors, may excuſe Plutarch, as he would a ſtranger miſtaking the propriety of an Engliſh word: and beſides the humanity of this excuſe, it is impoſſible in nature, that a man of ſo various learning, and ſo covetous of ingroſſing all, ſhould perfectly digeſt ſuch an infinity of notions in many ſciences, ſince to be excellent in one is ſo great a labour.

It may now be expected, that having written the life of an hiſtorian, I ſhould take occaſion to write ſomewhat concerning hiſtory itſelf. But I think to commend it is unneceſſary: for the profit and pleaſure of that ſtudy are both ſo very obvious, that a quick reader will be beforehand with me, and imagine faſter than I can write. Beſides, that the poſt is taken up already, and few authors has travelled this way, but who have ſtrewed it with rhetoric, as they paſſed. For my own part, who muſt confeſs it to my ſhame, that I never read any thing but for pleaſure, it has always been the moſt delightful entertainment of my life. But they who have employed the ſtudy of it as they ought, for their inſtruction, for the regulation of their private manners, and the management of public affairs, muſt agree with me, that it is the moſt pleaſant ſchool of wiſdom.

It is a familiarity with paſt ages, and an acquaintance with all the heroes of them. It is, if you will pardon the ſimilitude, a proſpective-glaſs carrying your ſoul to a vaſt diſtance, and taking in the fartheſt objects of antiquity. It informs the underſtanding by the memory: it helps us to judge of what will happen, by ſhowing us the like revolutions of former times. For mankind being the ſame in all ages, agitated by the ſame paſſions, and moved to action by the ſame intereſts, nothing can come to paſs, but ſome precedent of the like nature has already been produced; ſo that having the cauſes before your eyes, we cannot eaſily be deceived in

in the effects, if we have judgement enough but to draw the parallel.

God, it is true, with his divine providence, over-rules and guides all actions to the ſecret end he has ordained them; but in the way of human cauſes, a wiſe man may eaſily diſcern, that there is a natural connection betwixt them; and though he cannot foreſee accidents, or all things that poſſibly can come, he may apply examples, and by them foretel, that from the like counſels will probably ſucceed the like events; and thereby in all concernments, and all offices of life, be inſtructed in the two main points, on which depends our happineſs, that is, what to avoid and what to chuſe. The laws of hiſtory in general are, truth of matter, method and clearneſs of expreſſion. The firſt property is neceſſary to keep our underſtandings from the impoſitions of falſehood: for hiſtory is an argument framed from many particular examples, or inductions: if theſe examples are not true, then thoſe meaſures of life, which we take from them, will be falſe, and deceive us in their conſequence. The ſecond is grounded on the former; for if the method be confuſed, if the words or expreſſions of thought are any way obſcure, then the ideas which we receive muſt be imperfect; and if ſuch, we are not taught by them what to elect, or what to ſhun. Truth therefore is required, as the foundation of hiſtory, to inform us; diſpoſition and perſpicuity, as the manner to inform us plainly: one is the being, the other the wellbeing of it. Hiſtory is principally divided into theſe three ſpecies: *Commentaries* or *Annals*; *Hiſtory* properly ſo called; and *Biographia*, or the lives of particular men.

Commentaries or *Annals* are (as I may ſo call them) naked hiſtory; or the plain relation of matter of fact, according to the ſucceſſion of time, diveſted of all other ornaments. The ſprings and motives of actions are not here ſought, unleſs they offer

offer themſelves, and are open to every man's diſcernment. The method is the moſt natural that can be imagined, depending only on the obſervation of months and years, and drawing, in the order of them, whatſoever happened worthy of relation. The ſtyle is eaſy, ſimple, unforced, and unadorned with the pomp of figures; counſels, gueſſes, politic obſervations, ſentences, and orations, are avoided: in few words, a bare narration is its buſineſs. Of this kind the Commentaries of Cæſar are certainly the moſt admirable; and after him the Annals of Tacitus may have place. Nay even the prince of Greek hiſtorians, Thucydides, may almoſt be adopted into the number. For though he inſtructs every where by ſentences, though he gives the cauſes of actions, the counſels of both parties, and makes orations where they are neceſſary; yet it is certain, that he firſt deſigned his work a commentary; every year writing down, like an unconcerned ſpectator as he was, the particular occurrences of the time, in the order as they happened; and his eighth book is wholly written after the way of annals; though outliving the war, he inſerted in his others thoſe ornaments which render his work the moſt complete, and moſt inſtructive now extant.

Hiſtory, properly ſo called, may be deſcribed by the addition of thoſe parts, which are not required to Annals. And therefore there is little farther to be ſaid concerning it: only that the dignity and gravity of ſtyle is here neceſſary: that the gueſſes of ſecret cauſes, inducing to the actions, be drawn at leaſt from the moſt probable circumſtances, not perverted by the malignity of the author to ſiniſter interpretations, of which Tacitus is accuſed; but candidly laid down, and left to the judgment of the reader. That nothing of concernment be omitted, but things of trivial moment are ſtill to be neglected, as debaſing the majeſty of the work. That neither

neither partiality nor prejudice appear: but that truth may every where be ſacred, *(ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat hiſtoricus)*. That he neither incline to ſuperſtition, in giving too much credit to oracles, prophecies, divinations, and prodigies; nor to irreligion, in diſclaiming the almighty providence: but where general opinion has prevailed of any miraculous accident or portent, he ought to relate it as ſuch, without impoſing his opinion on our belief. Next to Thucydides in this kind may be accounted Polybius amongſt the Grecians; Livy though not free from ſuperſtition, nor Tacitus from ill nature, amongſt the Romans: amongſt the modern Italians, Guicchiardine, and D'Avila, if not partial; but above all men, in my opinion, the plain, ſincere, unaffected, and moſt inſtructive Philip de Comines amongſt the French; though he only gives his hiſtory the humble name of *Commentaries*. I am ſorry I canot find in our own nation (though it has produced ſome commendable hiſtorians) any proper to be ranked with theſe. Buchanan indeed for the purity of his Latin, and for his learning, and for all other endowments belonging to an hiſtorian, might be placed amongſt the greateſt, if he had not too much leaned to prejudice, and too manifeſtly declared himſelf a party of a cauſe, rather than an hiſtorian of it. Excepting only that (which I deſire not to urge too far, on ſo great a man, but only to give a caution to his readers concerning it), our iſle may juſtly boaſt in him, a writer comparable to any of the moderns, and excelled by few of the ancients.

Biographia, or the hiſtory of particular men's lives, comes next to be conſidered; which in dignity is inferior to the other two, as being more confined in action, and treating of wars and counſels, and all other public affairs of nations, only as they relate to him whoſe life is written, or as his fortunes have a particular dependence on them, or

connection to them: all things here are circumſcribed, and driven to a point, ſo as to terminate in one: conſequently, if the action or counſel were managed by colleagues, ſome part of it muſt be either lame or wanting; except it be ſupplied by the excurſion of the writer: herein likewiſe muſt be leſs of variety for the ſame reaſon; becauſe the fortunes and actions of one man are related, not thoſe of many. Thus the actions and achievements of Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, are all of them but the ſucceſſive parts of the Mithridatic war: of which we could have no perfect image, if the ſame hand had not given us the whole, though at ſeveral views, in their particular lives.

Yet, though we allow, for the reaſons above alleged, that this kind of writing is in dignity inferior to hiſtory and annals, in pleaſure and inſtruction it equals, or even excels both of them. It is not only commended by ancient practice, to celebrate the memory of great and worthy men, as the beſt thanks which poſterity can pay them; but alſo the examples of virtue are of more vigour, when they are thus contracted into individuals. As the ſun beams, united in a burning-glaſs to a point, have greater force than when they are darted from a plain ſuperficies; ſo the virtues and actions of one man, drawn together into a ſingle ſtory, ſtrike upon our minds a ſtronger and more lively impreſſion, than the ſcattered relations of many men, and many actions; and by the ſame means that they give us pleaſure, they afford us profit too. For when the underſtanding is intent and fixed on a ſingle thing, it carries cloſer to the mark, every part of the object ſinks into it, and the ſoul receives it unmixed and whole. For this reaſon Ariſtotle commends the unity of action in a poem; becauſe the mind is not capable of digeſting many things at once, nor of conceiving fully any more than one idea at a time. Whatſoever diſtracts the pleaſure, leſſens

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it. And as the reader is more concerned at one man's fortune, than thoſe of many; ſo likewiſe the writer is more capable of making a perfect work, if he confine himſelf to this narrow compaſs. The lineaments, features, and colourings of a ſingle picture, may be hit exactly; but in a hiſtory-piece of many figures, the general deſign, the ordinance or diſpoſition of it, the relation of one figure to another, the diverſity of the poſture, habits, ſhadowings, and all the other graces conſpiring to an uniformity, are of ſo difficult performance, that neither is the reſemblance of particular perſons often perfect, nor the beauty of the piece complete: for any conſiderable error in the parts, renders the whole diſagreeable and lame. Thus then the perfection of the work, and the benefit ariſing from it, are both more abſolute in biography than in hiſtory: all hiſtory is only the precepts of moral philoſophy reduced into examples. Moral philoſophy is divided into two parts, ethics and politics: the firſt inſtructs us in our private offices of virtue; the ſecond in thoſe which relate to the management of the commonwealth. Both of theſe teach by argumentation and reaſoning, which ruſh as it were into the mind, and poſſeſs it with violence: but hiſtory rather allures than forces us to virtue. There is nothing of the tyrant in example; but it gently glides into us, is eaſy and pleaſant in its paſſage; and in one word, reduces into practice our ſpeculative notions. Therefore the more powerful the examples are, they are the more uſeful alſo: and by being more known, they are more powerful. Now, unity, which is defined, is in its own nature more apt to be underſtood than multiplicity, which in ſome meaſure participates of infinity. The reaſon is Ariſtotle's.

Biographia, or the hiſtories of particular lives, though circumſcribed in the ſubject, is yet more extenſive in the ſtyle than the other two: for it not

only comprehends them both, but has ſomewhat ſuperadded, which neither of them have. The ſtyle of it is various, according to the occaſion. There are proper places in it, for the plainneſs and nakedneſs of narration, which is aſcribed to annals; there is alſo room reſerved for the loftineſs and gravity of general hiſtory, when the actions related ſhall require that manner of expreſſion. But there is withal, a deſcent into minute circumſtances, and trivial paſſages of life, which are natural to this way of writing, and which the dignity of the other two will not admit. There you are conducted only into the rooms of ſtate; here you are led into the private lodgings of the hero: you ſee him in his undreſs, and are made familiar with his moſt private actions and converſations. You may behold a Scipio and a Lælius gathering cockle-ſhells on the ſhore; Auguſtus playing at bounding-ſtones with boys; and Ageſilaus riding on a hobby-horſe among his children. The pageantry of life is taken away; you ſee the poor reaſonable animal, as naked as ever nature made him; are made acquainted with his paſſions and his follies, and find the demigod a man. Plutarch himſelf has more than once defended this kind of relating little paſſages. For, in the life of Alexander, he ſays thus: *In writing the lives of illuſtrious men, I am not tied to the laws of hiſtory: nor does it follow, that becauſe an action is great, it therefore manifeſts the greatneſs and virtue of him who did it; but on the other ſide, ſometimes a word, or a caſual jeſt, betrays a man more to our knowledge of him, than a battle fought, wherein ten thouſand men were ſlain, or ſacking of cities, or a courſe of victories.* In another place he quotes Xenophon on the like occaſion: "The ſayings of great men, in their familiar diſcourſes, and amidſt their wine, have "ſomewhat in them, which is worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity." Our author therefore needs no excuſe, but rather deſerves a commendation,

tion, when he relates, as pleaſant, ſome ſayings of his heroes, which appear (I muſt confeſs it) very cold and inſipid mirth to us. For it is not his meaning to commend the jeſt, but to paint the man; beſides, we may have loſt ſomewhat of the idiotiſm of that language in which it was ſpoken; and where the conceit is couched in a ſingle word, if all the ſignifications of it are not critically underſtood, the grace and the pleaſantry are loſt. But in all parts of biography, whether familiar or ſtately, whether ſublime or low, whether ſerious or merry, Plutarch equally excelled. If we compare him to others, Dion Caſſius is not ſo ſincere: Herodian, a lover of truth, is oftentimes deceived himſelf with what he had falſely heard reported; though the time of his emperors exceeds not in all above ſixty years; ſo that his whole hiſtory will ſcarce amount to three lives of Plutarch. Suetonius and Tacitus may be called alike, either authors of hiſtories, or writers of lives: but the firſt of them runs too willingly into obſcene deſcriptions, which he teaches while he relates; the other, beſides what has already been noted of him, often falls into obſcurity: and both of them have made ſo unlucky a choice of times, that they are forced to deſcribe rather monſters than men; and their emperors are either extravagant fools, or tyrants, and moſt uſually both. Our author, on the contrary, as he was more inclined to commend than to diſpraiſe, has generally choſen ſuch great men as were famous for their ſeveral virtues; at leaſt ſuch whoſe frailties or vices were over-poiſed by their excellencies; ſuch, from whoſe examples we may have more to follow than to ſhun. Yet, as he was impartial, he diſguiſed not the faults of any man. An example of which is in the life of Lucullus; where, after he has told us, that the double benefit which his countrymen, the Chæroneans, received from him, was the chiefeſt motive which he had to write his life, he afterwards

rips up his luxury, and ſhows how he loſt, through his miſmanagement, his authority, and his ſoldiers love. Then he was more happy in his digreſſions than any we have named. I have always been pleaſed to ſee him, and his imitator Montaigne, when they ſtrike a little out of the common road; for we are ſure to be the better for their wandering.

The beſt quarry lies not always in the open field: and who would not be content to follow a good huntſman over hedges and ditches, when he knows the game will reward his pains? But if we mark him more narrowly, we may obſerve, that the great reaſon of his frequent ſtarts, is the variety of his learning: he knew ſo much of nature, was ſo vaſtly furniſhed with all the treaſures of the mind, that he was uneaſy to himſelf, and was forced, as I may ſay, to lay down ſome at every paſſage, and to ſcatter his riches as he went: like another Alexander, or Adrian, he built a city, or planted a colony, in every part of his progreſs; and left behind him ſome memorial of his greatneſs. Sparta, and Thebes, and Athens, and Rome the miſtreſs of the world, he has diſcovered in their foundations, their inſtitutions, their growth, their height, the decay of the three firſt, and the alteration of the laſt. You ſee thoſe ſeveral people in their different laws and policies, and forms of government, in their warriors, and ſenators, and demagogues. Nor are the ornaments of poetry, and the illuſtrations of ſimilitudes, forgotten by him; in both which he inſtructs as well as pleaſes, or rather pleaſes that he may inſtruct.

This laſt reflection leads me naturally to ſay ſomewhat in general of his ſtyle, though after having juſtly praiſed him for copiouſneſs of learning, integrity, perſpicuity, and more than all this, for a certain air of goodneſs which appears through all his writings, it were unreaſonable to be critical on his elocution: as on a tree which bears excellent fruit, we conſider not the beauty of the bloſſoms; for if they

they are not pleaſant to the eye, or delightful to the ſcent, we know at the ſame time, that they are not the prime intention of nature, but are thruſt out in order to their product: ſo in Plutarch, whoſe buſineſs was not to pleaſe the ear, but to charm and to inſtruct the mind, we may eaſily forgive the cadences of words, and the roughneſs of expreſſion; yet for manlineſs of eloquence, if it abounded not in our author, it was not wanting in him: he neither ſtudied the ſublime ſtyle, nor affected the flowery. The choice of words, the numbers of periods, the turns of ſentences, and thoſe other ornaments of ſpeech, he neither ſought nor ſhunned. But the depth of ſenſe, the accuracy of judgment, the diſpoſition of the parts, and contexture of the whole, in ſo admirable and vaſt a field of matter; and laſtly, the copiouſneſs and variety of words, appear ſhining in our author. It is indeed obſerved of him, that he keeps not always to the ſtyle of proſe; but if a poetical word, which carries in it more of emphaſis or ſignification, offer itſelf at any time, he refuſes it not, becauſe Homer, or Euripides have uſed it: but if this be a fault, I know not how Xenophon will ſtand excuſed. Yet neither do I compare our author with him, or with Herodotus in the ſweetneſs and graces of his ſtyle, nor with Thucydides in the ſolidity and cloſeneſs of expreſſion. For Herodotus is acknowledged the prince of Ionic, the other two of the Attic eloquence. As for Plutarch, his ſtyle is ſo particular, that there is none of the ancients, to whom we can properly reſemble him. And the reaſon of this is obvious: for being converſant in ſo great variety of authors, and collecting from all of them what he thought moſt excellent, out of the confuſion, or rather mixture of all their ſtyles, he formed his own, which partaking of each, was yet none of them; but a compound of them all: like the Corinthian metal, which had in it gold, and braſs,

braſs, and ſilver, and yet was a ſpecies by itſelf. Add to this, that in Plutarch's time, and long before it, the purity of the Greek tongue was corrupted, and the native ſplendour of it had taken the tarniſh of Barbariſm; and contracted the filth and ſpots of degenerating ages. For the fall of empires always draws after it the language and eloquence of the people: they who labour under misfortunes or ſervitude, have little leiſure to cultivate their mother-tongue. To conclude, when Athens had loſt her ſovereignty to the Peloponneſians, and her liberty to Philip, neither a Thucydides nor a Demoſthenes were afterwards produced by her.

I have formerly acknowledged many lapſes of our author, occaſioned through his inadvertency; but he is likewiſe taxed with faults, which reflect on his judgment in matters of fact, and his candour in the compariſons of his Greeks and Romans. Both which are ſo well vindicated by Montaigne, that I need but barely to tranſlate him. "Firſt then he is "accuſed of want of judgment, in reporting things "incredible: for proof of which is alleged the ſto-"ry he tells of the Spartan boy, who ſuffered his "bowels to be torn out by a young fox which he "had ſtolen, chuſing rather to hide him under his "garment till he died, than to confeſs his robbery. "In the firſt place, this example is ill choſen, be-"cauſe it is difficult to ſet a bound to the force of "our internal faculties, it is not defined how far "our reſolution may carry us to ſuffer: the force "of bodies may more eaſily be determined than that "of ſouls: then of all people the Lacedæmonians, "by reaſon of their rigid inſtitution, were moſt "hardened to undergo labours, and to ſuffer pains. "Cicero, before our author's time, though then "the Spartan virtue was degenerated, yet avows to "have ſeen himſelf ſome Lacedæmonian boys, "who, to make trial of their patience, were placed "before the altar of Diana, where they endured "ſcourging,

" ſcourging, till they were all over bloody, and " that not only without crying, but even without " a ſigh or groan: nay, and ſome of them ſo am- " bitious of this reputation, that they willingly re- " ſigned their lives under the hands of their tor- " mentors. The ſame may be ſaid of another ſto- " ry, which Plutarch vouches with a hundred wit- " neſſes, that, in the time of ſacrifice, a burning " coal by chance falling into the ſleeve of a Spartan " boy, who held the cenſer, he ſuffered his arm to " be ſcorched ſo long without moving it, that the " ſcent of it reaked up to the noſes of the aſſiſtants.

" For my own part, who have taken in ſo vaſt " an idea of the Lacedæmonian magnanimity, Plu- " tarch's ſtory is ſo far from ſeeming incredible to " me, that I neither think it wonderful nor uncom- " mon: for we ought not to meaſure poſſibilities or " impoſſibilities by our own ſtandard, that is, by " what we ourſelves could do or ſuffer. Theſe, " and ſome other ſlight examples, are made uſe of " to leſſen the opinion of Plutarch's judgment: but " the common exception againſt his candour, is, " That in his parallels of Greeks and Romans he " has done too much honour to his countrymen, " in matching them with heroes, with whom they " were not worthy to be compared. For inſtances " of this, there are produced the compariſons of " Demoſthenes and Cicero, Ariſtides and Cato, " Lyſander and Sylla, Pelopidas and Marcellus, A- " geſilaus and Pompey. Now, the ground of this ac- " cuſation is moſt probably the luſtre of thoſe Ro- " man names, which ſtrikes on our imagination. " For what proportion of glory is there betwixt a " Roman conſul, or proconſul of ſo great a com- " monwealth, and a *ſimple citizen of Athens?* But he " who conſiders the truth more nearly, and weighs " not honours with honours, but men with men, " which was Plutarch's main deſign, will find in the " balance of their manners, their virtues, their en-

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" dowments and abilities, that Cicero and the elder " Cato were far from having the overweight againſt " Demoſthenes and Ariſtides. I might as well com- " plain againſt him in behalf of his own country- " men: for neither was Camillus ſo famous as The- " miſtocles; nor were Tiberius and Caius Gracchus " comparable to Agis and Cleomenes, in regard of " dignity: much leſs was the wiſdom of Numa to " be put in balance againſt that of Lycurgus, or " the modeſty and temperance of Scipio, againſt " the ſolid philoſophy and perfect virtue of Epa- " minondas: yet the diſparity of victories, the re- " putation, the blaze of glory, in the two laſt, " were evidently on the Roman ſide. But, as I ſaid " before, to compare them this way, was the leaſt " of Plutarch's aim; he openly declares againſt it: " for ſpeaking of the courſe of Pompey's fortune, " his exploits of war, the greatneſs of the armies " which he commanded, the ſplendour and number " of his triumphs, in his compariſon betwixt him " and Ageſilaus; I believe, ſays he, that if Xeno- " phon were now alive, and would indulge himſelf " the liberty to write all he could to the advantage " of his hero Ageſilaus, he would be aſhamed to " put their acts in competition. In his compariſon " of Sylla and Lyſander, there is, ſays he, no man- " ner of equality, either in the number of their " victories, or in the danger of their battles; for " Lyſander only gained two naval fights, *&c.* Now, " this is far from partiality to the Grecians. He " who would convince him of this vice, muſt ſhew " us in what particular judgment he has been too " favourable to his countrymen, and make it out " in general where he has failed in matching ſuch " a Greek with ſuch a Roman: which muſt be done " by ſhewing how he could have paired them bet- " ter; and naming any other in whom the reſem- " blance might have been more perfect. But an " equitable judge, who takes things by the ſame

" handle

" handle which Plutarch did, will find there is no " injury offered to either party, though there be " ſome diſparity betwixt the perſons: for he weighs " every circumſtance by itſelf, and judges ſeparately " of it; not comparing men at a lump, nor endea- " vouring to prove they were alike in all things, " but allowing for diſproportion of quality or for- " tune, ſhewing wherein they agreed or diſagreed, " and wherein one was to be preferred before the " other."

I thought I had anſwered all that could reaſona- bly be objected againſt our author's judgment; but caſually caſting my eye on the works of a French gentleman, deſervedly famous for wit and criticiſm, I wondered, amongſt many commendations of Plu- tarch, to find this one reflection. " As for his com- " pariſons, they ſeem truly to me very great; but " I think he might have carried them yet farther, " and have penetrated more deeply into human na- " ture: there are folds and receſſes in our minds, " which have eſcaped him; he judges man too " much in groſs; and thinks him not ſo different, " as he is often from himſelf: the ſame perſon be- " ing juſt, unjuſt, merciful, and cruel; which qua- " lities ſeeming to belie each other in him, he attri- " butes their inconſiſtencies to foreign cauſes: in " fine, if he had deſcribed Catiline, he would have " given him to us, either prodigal or covetous; " that *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*, was above his " reach. He could never have reconciled thoſe " contrarieties in the ſame ſubject, which Salluſt " has ſo well unfolded, and which Montaigne ſo " much better underſtood."

This judgment could not have proceeded, but from a man who has a nice taſte in authors; and if it be not altogether juſt, it is at leaſt delicate: but I am confident, that if he pleaſe to conſider this following paſſage taken out of the life of Sylla, he will moderate, if not retract his cenſure.

" In

" In the reſt of his manners he was unequal, ir-
" regular, different from himſelf: ἀνώμαλος τις ἔοικε,
" ϗ διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. He took many things by ra-
" pine, he gave more; honoured men immode-
" rately, and uſed them contumelioufly: was ſub-
" miſſive to thoſe of whom he ſtood in need, in-
" ſulting over thoſe who ſtood in need of him:
" ſo that it was doubtful, whether he were more
" formed by nature to arrogance or flattery. As to
" his uncertain way of puniſhing, he would ſome-
" times put men to death on the leaſt occaſions; at
" other times he would pardon the greateſt crimes:
" ſo that judging him in the whole, you may con-
" clude him to have been naturally cruel, and prone
" to vengeance, but that he could remit of his ſe-
" verity, when his intereſts required it."

Here methinks our author ſeems to have ſufficient-ly underſtood the folds and doubles of Sylla's diſpo-ſition; for his character is full of variety and in-conſiſtencies. Yet, in the concluſion, it is to be con-feſſed, that Plutarch has aſſigned him a bloody na-ture: the clemency was but artificial and aſſumed, the cruelty was inborn. But this cannot be ſaid of his rapine, and his prodigality; for here the *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*, is as plainly deſcribed, as if Plu-tarch had borrowed the ſenſe from Salluſt: and as he was a great collector, perhaps he did. Neverthe-leſs he judged rightly of Sylla, that naturally he was cruel: for that quality was predominant in him; and he was oftener revengeful than he was mer-ciful. But this is ſufficient to vindicate our author's judgment from being ſuperficial; and I deſire not to preſs the argument more ſtrongly againſt this gentleman, who has honoured our country by his long reſidence among us.

It ſeems to me, I muſt confeſs, that our author has not been more hardly treated by his enemies, in his comparing other men, than he has been by his friends, in their comparing Seneca with him.

And

And herein even Montaigne himſelf is ſcarcely to be defended. For no man more eſteemed Plutarch, no man was better acquainted with his excellencies; yet, this notwithſtanding, he has done too great an honour to Seneca, by ranking him with our philoſopher and hiſtorian; him, I ſay, who was ſo much leſs a philoſopher, and no hiſtorian. It is a reputation to Seneca, that any one has offered at the compariſon: the worth of his adverſary makes his defeat advantageous to him; and Plutarch might cry out with juſtice, *Qui cum victus erit, mecum certaſſe feretur.* If I had been to find out a parallel for Plutarch, I ſhould rather have pitched on Varro the moſt learned of the Romans, if at leaſt his works had yet remained; or on Pomponius Atticus, if he had written. But the likeneſs of Seneca is ſo little, that except the one's being tutor to Nero, and the other to Trajan, both of them ſtrangers to Rome, yet raiſed to the higheſt dignities in that city, and both philoſophers, though of ſeveral ſects; (for Seneca was a Stoic, Plutarch a Platoniſt, at leaſt an academic, that is, half Platoniſt, half Sceptic): beſides ſome ſuch faint reſemblances as theſe, Seneca and Plutarch ſeem to have as little relation to one another, as their native countries, Spain and Greece. If we conſider them in their inclinations or humours, Plutarch was ſociable and pleaſant, Seneca moroſe and melancholy: Plutarch a lover of converſation and ſober feaſts: Seneca reſerved; uneaſy to himſelf when alone, to others when in company. Compare them in their manners; Plutarch every where appears candid, Seneca often is cenſorious. Plutarch, out of his natural humanity, is frequent in commending what he can; Seneca, out of the ſourneſs of his temper, is prone to ſatire, and ſtill ſearching for ſome occaſion to vent his gall. Plutarch is pleaſed with an opportunity of praiſing virtue; and Seneca (to ſpeak the beſt of him) is glad of a pretence to reprehend vice.

Plutarch endeavours to teach others, but refuſes not to be taught himſelf; for he is always doubtful and inquiſitive: Seneca is altogether for teaching others, but ſo teaches them, that he impoſes his opinions; for he was of a ſect too imperious and dogmatical, either to be taught or contradicted. And yet Plutarch writes like a man of a confirmed probity, Seneca like one of a weak and ſtaggering virtue. Plutarch ſeems to have vanquiſhed vice, and to have triumphed over it: Seneca ſeems only to be combating and reſiſting, and that too but in his own defence. Therefore Plutarch is eaſy in his diſcourſe, as one who has overcome the difficulty: Seneca is painful, as he who ſtill labours under it. Plutarch's virtue is humble and civilized: Seneca's haughty and ill-bred. Plutarch allures you; Seneca commands you; one would make virtue your companion, the other your tyrant. The ſtyle of Plutarch is eaſy and flowing; that of Seneca precipitous and harſh. The firſt is even, the ſecond broken. The arguments of the Grecian drawn from reaſon, work themſelves into your underſtanding, and make a deep and laſting impreſſion in your mind; thoſe of the Roman drawn from wit, flaſh immediately on your imagination, but leave no durable effect. So this tickles you by ſtarts with his arguteneſs, that pleaſes you for continuance with his propriety. The courſe of their fortunes ſeems alſo to have partaken of their ſtyles: for Plutarch's was equal, ſmooth, and of the ſame tenor; Seneca's was turbid, inconſtant, and full of revolution. The life of Plutarch was unblameable, as the reader cannot but have obſerved: and of all his writings there is nothing to be noted as having the leaſt tendency to vice; but only that little treatiſe, which is entitled Ἐρωτικὸς, wherein he ſpeaks too broadly of a ſin, to which the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of the world are moſt obnoxious: but Seneca is ſaid to have been more libertine than ſuited

ed with the gravity of a philoſopher, or with the auſterity of a Stoic. An ingenious Frenchman eſteems, as he tells us, his perſon rather than his works; and values him more as the preceptor of Nero, a man ambitious of the empire, and as the gallant of Agrippina, than as a teacher of morality. For my part, I dare not puſh the commendation ſo far; his courage was perhaps praiſe-worthy, if he endeavoured to deliver Rome from ſuch a monſter of tyranny as Nero was then begining to appear: his ambition too was the more excuſable, if he found in himſelf an ability of governing the world, and a deſire of doing good to human kind. But as to his good fortunes with the empreſs, I know not what value ought to be ſet on a wiſe man for them; except it be, that women generally liking without judgment, it was a conqueſt for a philoſopher once in an age, to get the better of a fool. However, methinks there is ſomething of awkward in the adventure: I cannot imagine without laughter, a pedant and a Stoic making love in a long gown; for it puts me in mind of the civilities which are uſed by the cardinals and judges in the dance of the Rehearſal. If Agrippina would needs be ſo laviſh of her favours, ſince a ſot grew nauſeous to her, becauſe he was her huſband, and nothing under a wit could atone for Claudius, I am half ſorry that Petronius was not the man: we could have borne it better from his character, than from one who profeſſed the ſeverity of virtue, to make a cuckold of his emperor and benefactor. But let the hiſtorian anſwer for his own relation: only, if true, it is ſo much the worſe, that Seneca, after having abuſed his bed, could not let him ſleep quiet in his grave. The *Apocolocynthiſis*, or mock deification of Claudius, was too ſharp and inſulting on his memory: and Seneca, though he could preach forgiveneſs to others, did not practiſe it himſelf in that ſatire. Where was the patience and

inſenſibility of a Stoic, in revenging his baniſhment with a libel? where was the morality of a philoſopher, in defaming and expoſing of an harmleſs fool? and where was common humanity, in railing againſt the dead? But the talent of his malice is viſible in other places: he cenſures Mæcenas, and I believe juſtly, for the looſeneſs of his manners, the voluptuouſneſs of his life, and the effeminacy of his ſtyle; but it appears, that he takes pleaſure in ſo doing, and that he never forced his nature, when he ſpoke ill of any man. For his own ſtyle, we ſee what it is; and if we may be as bold with him, as he has been with our old patron, we may call it a ſhattered eloquence, not vigorous, not united, not embodied, but broken into fragments; every part by itſelf pompous, but the whole confuſed and unharmonious. His Latin, as Monſieur St Evremont has well obſerved, has nothing in it of the purity and elegance of Auguſtus's times: and it is of him and of his imitators, that Petronius ſaid, *Pace veſtra liceat dixiſſe, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis.* The *controverſiæ ſententiis vibrantibus pictæ*, and the *vanus ſententiarum ſtrepitus*, make it evident, that Seneca was taxed under the perſon of the old rhetorician. What quarrel he had to the uncle and the nephew, I mean Seneca and Lucan, is not known: but Petronius plainly points them out; one for a bad orator, the other for as bad a poet: his own eſſay of the civil war is an open defiance of the Pharſalia; and the firſt oration of Eumolphus, as full an arraignment of Seneca's falſe eloquence. After all that has been ſaid, he is certainly to be allowed a great wit, but not a good philoſopher: not fit to be compared with Cicero, of whoſe reputation he was emulous, any more than Lucan is with Virgil. To ſum up all in few words, conſider a philoſopher declaiming againſt riches, yet vaſtly rich himſelf; againſt avarice, yet putting out his money at great extortion here in Britain; againſt honours,

yet

yet aiming to be emperor; againſt pleaſure, yet enjoying Agrippina, and in his old age married to a beautiful young woman: and after this let him be made a parallel to Plutarch.

And now, with the uſual vanity of Dutch prefacers, I could load our author with the praiſes and commemorations of writers: for both ancient and modern have made honourable mention of him. But to cumber pages with this kind of ſtuff, were to raiſe a diſtruſt in common readers that Plutarch wants them. Rualdus has indeed collected ample teſtimonies of them; but I will only recite the names of ſome, and refer you to him for the particular quotations. He reckons Gellius, Euſebius, Himerius the ſophiſter, Eunapius, Cyrillus of Alexandria, Theodoret, Agathias, Phothius and Xiphilin patriarchs of Conſtantinople, Johannes Sariſberienſis, the famous Petrarch, Petrus Victorius, and Juſtus Lipſius.

But Theodorus Gaza, a man learned in the Latin tongue, and a great reſtorer of the Greek, who lived above two hundred years ago, deſerves to have his ſuffrage ſet down in words at length: for the reſt have only commended Plutarch more than any ſingle author, but he has extolled him above all together.

It is ſaid, that having this extravagant queſtion put to him by a friend, that if learning muſt ſuffer a general ſhipwreck, and he had only his choice left him of preſerving one author, who ſhould be the man he would preſerve? he anſwered, Plutarch; and probably might give this reaſon, that, in ſaving him, he ſhould ſecure the beſt collection of them all.

The epigram of Agathias deſerves alſo to be remembered: this author flouriſhed about the year five hundred, in the reign of the emperor Juſtinian: the verſes are extant in the Anthologia, and

with the tranſlation of them, I will conclude the praiſes of our author; having firſt admoniſhed you, that they are ſuppoſed to be written on a ſtatue erected by the Romans to his memory.

Σεῖο πολυκλήενται τύπον ϛήσαντο Χερωνεῦ
Πλάταρχε κρατερῶν υἷες Αὐσονίων·
Ὅτι παραλλήλοισι βίοις Ἑλλήνας ἀρίϛες
Ῥώμης ἐνπολέμοις ἥρμοσας ἐνναέταις·
Ἀλλὰ τεῦ βίοτοιο παράλληλον βίον ἄλλον
Οὐδὲ σὺγ' ἂν γράψαις, ἃ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἔχεις.

Cheronean Plutarch, to thy deathleſs praiſe
Does martial Rome this grateful ſtatue raiſe:
Becauſe both Greece and ſhe thy fame have ſhar'd;
(Their heroes written, and their lives compar'd):
But thou thyſelf couldſt never write thy own:
Their lives have parallels, but thine has none.

THE

THE LIFE OF THESEUS.

AS geographers, in their deſcriptions of countries, thruſt into the furtheſt parts of their maps, thoſe places with which they are unacquainted, and frequently add ſuch remarks as theſe; *All beyond is a ſandy deſert inhabited only by wild creatures, or unpaſſable bogs, or Scythian mountains, or a frozen ſea*; ſo, my dear Soſſius Senecio *, in this work of mine, wherein I have compared the lives of great men with one another, having gone through that period to which hiſtory or probable conjecture can reach, I may ſay of that which is more remote, *All beyond is the region of prodigy and fiction, inhabited by poets and fabulous writers, concerning which nothing certain or credible is known* †. Yet having publiſhed an account

* C. Soſſius Senecio, who was four times conſul; the firſt time under Nerva, and the three laſt under Trajan. It was this Senecio, to whom Pliny addreſſed ſome of his epiſtles. They who imagine Plutarch dedicated theſe lives to that Senecio, who was put to death by Domitian, are very much miſtaken. That Senecio was called *Herennius*, and not *Soſſius*, and was dead before Plutarch had written theſe laſt lives.

† Thucydides had owned, more than 500 years before Plutarch, that whatever preceded the wars in Peloponneſus was very uncertain, by reaſon of its antiquity. He meant the wars of the Medes and that of Troy. Now, if in the time of Thucydides, the Medan wars, which broke out but a hundred years before, paſſed for fabulous, what ſhall we ſay of the Trojan war, and the age wherein Theſeus flouriſhed, which preceded the Peloponneſian war almoſt eight hundred years? Plutarch very juſtly calls that age the region of prodigy and fiction.

account of Lycurgus, and Numa, I thought I might with good reaſon aſcend as high as Romulus, being brought by my hiſtory ſo near to his time. Conſidering therefore with myſelf,

Whom with ſo great a man ſhall I compare,
Or whom oppoſe? Who can the trial bear?

(as Æſchylus expreſſes it); I found none ſo fit as him who peopled the famous city of Athens, to be ſet in oppoſition with the father of the invincible and renowned city of Rome. And here it were to be wiſhed, that we could ſo far free our account from fable, that it might have ſuch an air of probability as ſuits the character of hiſtory. But whereever it ſhall chance too boldly to tranſgreſs the bounds of credibility, and will endure no mixture of what is probable, we ſhall beſpeak the reader's candour, and favourable reception of ſuch information as we can give concerning things of ſo great antiquity.

Theſeus ſeems to reſemble Romulus in many particulars. Both of them were born out of wedlock, and of uncertain parentage; both had the repute of being ſprung from the gods;

And warriors both, by all the world confeſs'd.
HOMER.

In both of them, ſtrength of body was united with vigour of mind; each of them founded one of the two moſt famous cities in the world, Rome and Athens; both committed rapes; both ſuffered great domeſtic misfortunes; both were polluted with the blood of their near relations; and both towards the concluſion of their lives are ſaid to have incurred the diſpleaſure of their own citizens, if we may believe thoſe accounts that are delivered with the leaſt appearance of fiction.

The lineage of Theſeus by his father's ſide aſcends

ſcends as high as to * Erectheus, and the firſt inhabitants of Attica. By his mother's ſide he was deſcended from † Pelops. For Pelops was the moſt powerful of all the kings in Peloponneſus, not only on account of his great riches, but the multitude of his children ‡, having matched many daughters ‖ to perſons of the greateſt quality, and made

* This *Erectheus*, as he is called by Plutarch, was moſt generally named *Erichthonius*. Theſeus's genealogy on his father's ſide was as follows,

Erichthonius, or Erectheus, the ſon of Vulcan and Minerva, or Cranae, grand-daughter of Cranaus.

Pandion.

Erectheus II.

Cecrops —— Orneus, father of

Pandion II. Petreus, father of

Ægeus. Mneſtheus.

Theſeus.

The firſt Erectheus, or Erichthonius, was contemporary with Moſes, about the year of the world 2460, or 1488 before the birth of Chriſt. There had been three kings in Athens before him, *viz.* Cecrops, Cranaus, and Amphiction, all three of an unknown extraction, and for that reaſon called *the ſons of the earth*. Now, as Erectheus, or Erichthonius, paſſed for the grandſon of Cranaus's daughter, Plutarch very juſtly ſays, that Theſeus was deſcended from the Autochthones, *i. e.* the firſt inhabitants of Attica, who were ſo called becauſe they were born in that very country, and had not removed thither from other parts. However, it is very certain, that Attica was firſt inhabited by foreigners, of which there needs no other proof than the very name of *Cecrops*, which is foreign. But that which gave the name of *Autochthones*, or *Indigenes*, to the firſt inhabitants of Attica was this; the other cantons or diſtricts of Greece, which were of a more fertile and kindly ſoil, did for that reaſon often change their maſters, whilſt every one endeavoured to ſettle by force in the moſt fruitful parts: the country of Attica, on the other hand, being barren and unprofitable, its inhabitants remained unmoleſted, and were therefore ſaid to have ſprung out of their own earth, by reaſon of the difference there was betwixt them and the other colonies, who had been much more changeable and fluctuating.

† Pelops was the ſon of Tantalus, and conſequently of Phrygian extraction. He carried with him immenſe riches into Peloponneſus, which he had dug out of the mines of mount Sypilus. The ſon of Pelops was Pittheus, whoſe daughter Æthra was the mother of Theſeus.

‡ He had thirteen children by Hippodamia.

‖ Of all theſe daughters I can meet with no more than two, one of which was called *Lycidice*, and the other *Aſtydamia*; of whom the firſt was married to Alectryon, or, according to others, to Neſtor the ſon of Perſeus, king of Tirinthus, and Aſtydamia to Sthenlus king of Mycenæ. This Aſtydamia is by others called *Nicippe*.

all

all his ſons governors of the moſt conſiderable provinces * round about him. One of them, named *Pittheus*, grandfather to Theſeus, was founder of the ſmall city of the Trœzenians, and was reputed the moſt wiſe and learned man of his time. Learning then conſiſted † chiefly in ſuch moral ſentences as thoſe which are ſo much admired of Heſiod, in his book of works and days. And even among them is one that they aſcribe to Pittheus; and this opinion is confirmed by Ariſtotle.

Let a friend's ſervices meet full reward.

And Euripides, when he calls Hippolytus

A ſcholar by the reverend Pittheus taught,

ſhows the opinon which the world had of that great man. It is ſaid that Ægeus, being deſirous of children, and conſulting the oracle at Delphi, received that celebrated anſwer, which forbade him the uſe of any woman before his return to Athens. But the oracle being ſo obſcurely expreſſed, as not to ſatisfy him that this was the meaning, he went to Trœzene, and communicated to Pittheus the anſwer of the God, which was this:

The myſtic veſſel muſt untouch'd remain,
Till thou to Athens ſhalt return again.

Pittheus, when he had heard the oracle, prevailed upon Ægeus, either by perſuaſion or deceit, to lie with his daughter Æthra. Ægeus afterwards knowing her whom he had lain with to be Pitthe-

* By force of money he got into his poſſeſſion the moſt conſiderable towns in Peloponneſus, and made his ſons maſters of them; which was no difficult thing for him to do, conſidering the extreme poverty and miſery of the inhabitants.

† This appears not only from the works of Heſiod, who flouriſhed about five hundred years after Pittheus, and thoſe of Theognis, who was near three hundred years later than Heſiod, but likewiſe from the proverbs of Solomon, who reigned two or three hundred years after Pittheus.

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us's daughter, and gueſſing her to be with child by him, left a ſword and a pair of ſhoes, hiding them under a great ſtone that had a hollow exactly fitting them, making her only privy to it, and commanding her, that if ſhe had a ſon by him, who when he grew up ſhould be able to lift up the ſtone, and take away what he had left there, ſhe ſhould ſend him to him with thoſe things as ſecretly as poſſible. For he was very much afraid leſt ſome plot ſhould be formed againſt him by the Pallantidæ *, who deſpiſed him for his want of children; they themſelves being fifty brothers, all ſons of Pallas.

When Æthra was delivered † of a ſon, ſome report that he was at that inſtant named ‡ *Theſeus*, from the tokens which his father had put under the ſtone: but others ſay that he received his name afterwards at Athens, when Ægeus acknowledged him for his ſon. He was brought up under his grandfather Pittheus, who appointed him a tutor, named *Connidas*, to whom the Athenians even to this time, the day before the feaſt that is dedicated to Theſeus, ſacrifice a ram; giving this honour to

* Pallas was Ægeus's brother; and as Ægeus had no children, the Pallantidæ conſidered the kingdom of Athens as their rightful inheritance, of which they could not poſſibly fail after the death of their uncle. Ægeus therefore had juſt reaſon to fear that if it ſhould be known to his nephews that he had a ſon, they would no longer deſpiſe him for want of iſſue, but would be plotting againſt him in order to take him off before his ſon could arrive at Athens, and be declared his heir. Or they might at leaſt contrive ſome means to murder Theſeus in his way thither.

† She was delivered in a place called *Celenderis*, near the haven of Trœzene. This was contrived on purpoſe by Pittheus, that the world might more eaſily be perſuaded to believe that the infant was the ſon of Neptune. The place where Theſeus was born, was for a long time after called *Genethlium*, *The place of the birth*.

‡ The Greeks as well as Hebrews, gave names both to things and perſons, which they drew from ſome particular circumſtances or events attending that which they were to name. For which reaſon this young prince was called *Theſeus* from *Theſis*, which is derived from τίθημι, *to put*: and that either from the tokens which had been put under the ſtone, or becauſe Ægeus had acknowledged him for his ſon, which the Greeks call *Theſthai Yion*.

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his memory upon a much juſter account than that which they pay to Silanio and Parrhaſius, for having only made pictures and ſtatues of Theſeus.

There being then a cuſtom for the Grecian youth, upon their firſt coming to man's eſtate, to go to Delphi, and offer the firſt-fruits of their hair to Apollo, Theſeus alſo went thither; and they ſay, that the place where this ceremony is performed, is to this day named *Theſea* from him. But he ſhaved only the forepart of his head, as Homer reports to be the cuſtom of the Abantes *. And this ſort of tonſure was from him named *Theſeis*. The Abantes firſt uſed this ſort of ſhaving, not having learned it from the Arabians, as ſome imagine, nor in imitation of the Myſians; but becauſe they were a warlike people, and uſed to cloſe fighting, and above all other nations taught chiefly to engage hand to hand; as appears by theſe verſes of Archilochus †,

Slings they deſpiſe, and ſcorn to ſend from far
The flying dart, and wage a diſtant war;
But hand to hand the truſty ſwords they wield,
Do all the dreadful buſineſs of the field:
This is the way of fight th' Eubœans know,
Nor bow nor ſling they truſt, but ſtrike themſelves the blow.

Therefore that they might not give their enemies the advantage of ſeizing them by the hair, they were ſhaved in this manner. It is ſaid alſo, that this was the reaſon why Alexander gave command to his captains. that all the beards of his Macedo-

* Homer calls them ὄπιθεν κομόωντας, *men letting their hair grow long behind*; intimating thereby that they kept it clipt before. The Abantes were the inhabitants of Eubœa. Ariſtotle tells us that the Thracians having obtained the poſſeſſion of Phocis, thoſe of them that inhabited the town of Abæ, ſeized on Eubœa, and gave the inhabitants the name of *Abantes*.

† Archilochus was a Greek poet who lived about the time of Romulus.

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nians ſhould be ſhaved, as being the readieſt hold for an enemy.

Æthra for ſome time concealed the true parentage of Theſeus; and there was a report given out by Pittheus, that he was begotten by Neptune: for the Trœzenians have Neptune in the higheſt veneration; he is their tutelar god; to him they offer all their firſt-fruits, and in honour to him ſtamp their money with a trident.

Theſeus in his youth diſcovering not only a great ſtrength of body, but an extraordinary underſtanding and magnanimity, his mother Æthra conducted him to the ſtone, and informing him who was his true father, commanded him to take from thence the tokens that Ægeus had left, and to ſail to Athens. He raiſed the ſtone without any difficulty; but refuſed to take his journey by ſea, though it was much the ſafer way, and though he was continually preſſed to it by the intreaties of his grandfather and mother, becauſe it was at that time very dangerous to go by land to Athens, no place of the country being free from robbers. For that age, it ſeems, produced a ſort of men, of prodigious ſtrength, ſwiftneſs, and activity, laborious, indefatigable, and of invincible courage; but they uſed theſe gifts of nature not to ſerve mankind, but to gratify their pride, inſolence, and ſavage diſpoſition, by rapine, violence, and every kind of outrage againſt all who fell into their hands. They thought civility, juſtice, equity, and humanity, (which others praiſed, either from want of courage to commit injuries, or fear of receiving them), did not at all concern thoſe who had force on their ſide. Some of theſe Hercules deſtroyed when he paſſed through theſe countries; but ſome for fear fled, and hid themſelves, and were ſpared by him in contempt of their cowardice. But after Hercules had unfortunately killed Iphitus, he retired to Lydia; where for a long time he was ſlave to Omphale, a puniſh-

ment which he had impoſed upon himſelf for the murder *, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. Then indeed the Lydians enjoyed peace and ſecurity; but in Greece, and the countries about it, the ſame enormities again broke out, there being none to puniſh or reſtrain them. It was therefore a very hazardous journey to travel by land to Athens from Peloponneſus: and Pittheus, giving Theſeus an exact account of each of theſe ruffians, of what ſtrength they were, and with what cruelty they uſed all ſtrangers, adviſed him to go by ſea. But he, it ſeems, had long ſince been ſecretly fired by the fame of Hercules, whom he held in the higheſt eſteem, and was never more delighted than in hearing accounts of him, eſpecially from them who had ſeen him, converſed with him, or had been preſent at any of his exploits. So that he was affected in the ſame manner as Themiſtocles was, many ages after, when he ſaid, that the trophies of Miltiades would not ſuffer him to ſleep. And ſo great was his admiration of the virtue of Hercules, that in the night his dreams were all of that hero's actions, and in the day a continual emulation ſtirred him up to perform the like. Beſides, they were nearly related, being born of couſin-germans. For Æthra was the daughter of Pittheus, and Alcmena of Lyſidice; and Lyſidice and Pittheus were brother and ſiſter by Hippodamia and Pelops. He thought it therefore an inſupportable diſhonour, that Hercules ſhould purſue theſe villains both by land and ſea till he had ſubdued them, and that he himſelf ſhould

* Thoſe who had been guilty of murder became voluntary exiles, and impoſed on themſelves a certain penance, which they continued till they thereby thought themſelves expiated. Hercules went firſt to Pylos, and from thence to Amyclæ, where he was expiated by Deiphobus, the ſon of Hippolytus; but falling very ill, and conſulting the oracle of Apollo, he received for anſwer, that there would be no end of his calamities till he had paſſed three years in ſlavery; upon which he ſold himſelf a ſlave to Omphale. *Apollod. lib.* II.

ſhun

ſhun the like adventures, when they ſo fairly offered themſelves to him; diſgracing his reputed father by a mean flight; and ſhowing to his true father the ſhoes, and the ſword yet unſtained with blood, as the only proofs of his birth, inſtead of manifeſting it by great and worthy actions. With this diſpoſition, and full of theſe reflections, he ſet forward, deſigning to injure no one, but to repel and puniſh any violence that ſhould be offered to him.

And firſt of all he ſlew Periphetes in Epidauria, who, becauſe he fought with a club, was called *Corynetes*, or the *Club-bearer*, and who had attempted to ſtop him in his journey. Theſeus being pleaſed with the club, took it, and made it his weapon; and as Hercules wore the lion's ſkin, as evidence of what a prodigious ſize the monſter was that he ſlew, for the ſame purpoſe Theſeus carried about with him this club, overpowered indeed by him, but now, in his hand, irreſiſtible.

Paſſing on further towards the iſthmus of Peloponneſus, he ſlew Sinnis *, who (from the way of murder he uſed) was ſirnamed the *Pinebender*, after the ſame manner that he himſelf had deſtroyed many others before. And this he did, not having either practiſed or ever learned the art of bending theſe trees, to ſhow that natural ſtrength is above all art. This Sinnis had a daughter of great beauty, and more than ordinary ſtature, called *Perigune*, who, when her father was killed, fled, and was ſought after with all diligence by Theſeus; but ſhe, flying into a place overgrown with ſhrubs and ruſhes, and wild aſparagus, innocently made her complaint to them, as if they could have a ſenſe of

* When this giant had worſted any one, he bent down two pines till he had brought them to meet together, and having faſtened an arm and a leg of his wretched captive to each of them, he let them looſe, and they ſeverally returned to their proper ſituations, pulling with them the limbs that had been faſtened to them.

her misfortune, and begged them to ſhelter her, with vows, that if ſhe eſcaped, ſhe would never cut them down or burn them: but Theſeus calling upon her, and giving her his promiſe that he would uſe her with all reſpect, and offer her no injury, ſhe came forth. Theſeus had by her a ſon named *Menalippus:* but afterwards ſhe was married to Deioneus, the ſon of Eurytus the Oechalian, Theſeus himſelf giving her to him. And Ioxus, the ſon of this Menalippus, who was born to Theſeus, accompanied Ornytus in the colony that he carried with him into Caria; and from him the people called *Ioxides* have their name, who have this cuſtom derived down to them from their fathers, never to burn either ruſhes, or wild aſparagus, but to honour and worſhip them.

About this time there was a wild ſow at Crommyon *, which they called *Phæa*, a very fierce and formidable creature: this Theſeus killed, going out of his way to meet and engage her, that he might not ſeem to perform all his great exploits out of mere neceſſity; being of opinion, that as it was the part of a brave man to fight in his own defence againſt robbers and aſſaſſins, ſo likewiſe voluntarily to expoſe himſelf to danger, by encountering ſuch wild beaſts as were famous for their ſtrength and fierceneſs. Others relate, that this Phæa was a woman of Crommyon, who made a trade of robbing, was remarkable for cruelty and luſt, and had the name of *ſow* given her from the beaſtlineſs of her life and manners, and that afterwards ſhe was killed by Theſeus.

He alſo ſlew Sciron upon the borders of Megara, caſting him down from the rocks. He was, as moſt

* Crommyon or Cromyon was a borough in the territory of Corinth, from whence it was diſtant about 120 furlongs, as we are told by Thucydides: there this wild ſow had taken up her abode; and Strabo tells us, that ſhe was the mother of the Calydonian boar. *lib.* 8.

report,

report, a notorious robber; and others ſay, that he uſed, out of inſolence and wantonneſs, to ſtretch forth his feet to ſtrangers, commanding them to waſh them, and while they were ſo employed, with a kick to thruſt them down the rock into the ſea. But the writers of Megara, in contradiction to the received report, and as Simonides * expreſſes it, *fighting with all antiquity*, contend, that Sciron was neither a robber, nor a man of an abuſive or inſolent character, but a puniſher of all ſuch, and a friend to all good men: for, ſay they, Æacus was ever eſteemed a man of the greateſt ſanctity of all the Greeks; and Cychreus the Salaminian was honoured at Athens with divine worſhip; and the virtue of Peleus and Telamon is not unknown to any one. Now, Sciron was ſon-in-law to Cychreus, and father-in-law to Æacus, and grandfather to Peleus and Telamon, who were both of them ſons of Endeis, the daughter of Sciron and Chariclo: therefore it is not probable, that the beſt of men ſhould make theſe alliances with the worſt, giving and receiving mutually what was moſt valuable and dear to them. Beſides, they relate, that Theſeus did not ſlay Sciron in his firſt journey to Athens, but afterwards, when he took Eleuſis, a city then in poſſeſſion of the Megarians, having circumvented Diocles the governor. Theſe are the contradictions which are found between the writers of this ſtory.

In Eleuſis he killed Cercyon † the Arcadian, in a wreſtling match. And going on a little further, in

* There were four of that name, but at four different times, all of them poets and hiſtorians, ſo that it is difficult to determine which of them is here quoted by Plutarch; but I imagine he means the eldeſt of them, Simonides Amorginus, who flouriſhed about the thirtieth Olympiad, in the reign of Tullus Hoſtilius.

† Cercyon was the firſt who made uſe of art and addreſs in wreſtling. The place where this combat was fought, was called *the palæſtra* (or *wreſtling-place*) *of Cercyon*, even in Pauſanias's time.

the city of Hermione *, he ſlew Damaſtes, otherwiſe called *Procruſtes* †, by force fitting his body to the ſize of his own beds, as he himſelf was uſed to do with all ſtrangers. This Theſeus did in imitation of Hercules. For that hero returned always upon the aggreſſors the ſame ſort of violence which they had offered to others: for inſtance, he ‡ ſacrificed Buſiris, ſlew ‖ Antæus in wreſtling, worſted Cycnus ⸸ at ſingle combat, and killed Termerus by breaking his ſcull in pieces, (from whence they ſay comes the proverb of *a Termerian miſchief*); for it ſeems Termerus killed all the paſſengers that he met, by running, with all his force, his head againſt theirs. Thus proceeded Theſeus in the puniſhment of theſe wretches, who underwent the ſame torments from him, which they had inflicted

* There is manifeſtly an error here; for Hermione was in Peloponneſus, which Theſeus had now left. Pauſanias calls the place near which Theſeus killed Procruſtes, *Erione*. Some conjecture that inſtead of *Hermione* we ſhould read *Hermos*, as there was a town in Attica of that name.

† Hyginus has very well deſcribed the malicious wickedneſs of that giant. He had, ſays he, beds of ſeveral ſizes, and when he lit upon a traveller, if he was a tall man, he made him lodge on one of his ſhort beds, and cut off ſo much of him as exceeded the length of the bed, whereon he was laid; and if his gueſt was a ſhort man, he provided him with a bed of the longeſt ſize, and by the help of his machines he drew him out to the length of it; for this reaſon he was called *Procruſtes*, ſignifying one, *who draws, or extends in length by force and violence*.

‡ Buſiris, the ſon of Neptune and Lyſianaſſa, was king of Egypt. His cuſtom was to offer up ſtrangers in ſacrifice to Jupiter. This treatment he intended for Hercules, who ſuffered himſelf to be bound, and carried to the altar; where having burſt the cords, he ſacrificed the tyrant himſelf together with his ſon Amphidamas.

‖ Antæus was king of Lydia, and the ſon of the earth, who ſupplied him with freſh ſtrength and vigour ſo often as he touched her. For this reaſon Hercules held him up in his arms, and ſtrangled him.

⸸ There were two perſons of the name of *Cycnus*, and Hercules fought with them both. The firſt was ſon of Mars and Pyrene. As he and Hercules were fighting, a thunderbolt ſhot between them, and parted them. The other was likewiſe the ſon of Mars and Pelopæa, and was ſlain by Hercules.

upon

upon others; juſtly ſuffering after the manner of their own injuſtice.

As he went forward on his journey, he came to the river Cephiſus, * where ſome of the Phytalidæ met him and ſaluted him: † and upon his deſire to uſe the cuſtomary purifications, they performed them with all the uſual ceremonies; and having offered propitiatory ſacrifices to the gods, they entertained him at their houſe. This was the firſt inſtance of hoſpitality he had received during his whole journey.

It is reported that on the eighth day of the month Cronius, now called *Hecatombæon*, [*July*], he arrived at Athens, where he found the city full of confuſion, and divided into parties and factions; and the family of Ægeus alſo in great diſorder; for Medea, having fled from Corinth, and promiſed Ægeus to make him, by her art, capable of having children, was entertained by him, and admitted to his bed. She firſt diſcovered Theſeus, whom as yet Ægeus did not know; and he being in years, and full of jealouſies and ſuſpicions, on account of the faction that was then in the city, ſhe eaſily perſuaded him to poiſon Theſeus at a banquet which was to be prepared for him as a civility to a ſtranger. Theſeus coming to the entertainment, thought it not fit to diſcover himſelf firſt; but being willing to give his father the occaſion of firſt finding him out, the meat being on the table, ‡ he drew his ſword

* Pauſanias calls theſe *Phytalidæ* the deſcendents of Phytalus, with whom Ceres had intruſted the ſuperintendence of her holy myſteries, in recompenſe for the hoſpitality with which he had received and entertained her in his houſe.

† Though he had deſtroyed none but common thieves, and robbers, he thought himſelf unfit to be admitted to the holy myſteries without expiation.

‡ If this paſſage has not been corrupted, Plutarch muſt certainly be miſtaken as to the cuſtoms of thoſe times; for the heroes did not cut with the ſame ſword with which they fought, but with a large knife, or cutlace, which always

ſword as if he deſigned to carve with it, and ſo ſhowed it him. Ægeus immediately perceiving the token, threw down the cup of poiſon, and after ſome queſtions embraced his ſon; then aſſembling the citizens, he owned him publicly before them, and they received him with great ſatisfaction on account of his bravery. It is alſo ſaid, that when the cup fell, the poiſon was ſpilt there, where now is the incloſure in the place called *Delphinion*; for in that place ſtood Ægeus's houſe, and the ſtatue of Mercury on the eaſt ſide of the temple is called the *Mercury* of Ægeus's gate.

The ſons of Pallas, who before were in hopes of recovering the kingdom, if Ægeus ſhould die without iſſue, as ſoon as Theſeus appeared, and was acknowledged the ſucceſſor to the crown, highly reſenting, that Ægeus, * an adopted ſon only of Pandion, and not at all related to the family of Erectheus, ſhould firſt obtain the kingdom, and that again after him, Theſeus, a new-comer and a ſtranger, ſhould do the like, broke out into an open war; and dividing themſelves into two companies, one part of them marched openly from Sphettus with

ways hung near it, that they might be ready upon occaſion to perform the functions required of them in their ſacrifices. That this was the cuſtom, manifeſtly appears from a paſſage in the third book of the Iliad, where Homer ſays,

Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χειρεσσι μαχαιραν
Ἣ οἱ πάρ ξιφος μέγα κωλεὸν ἀμφὶ θοῆλο.
Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλέων τάμνε τρίχας.

——*Then draws the Grecian lord*
His cutlace ſheath'd beſide his pond'rous ſword,
From the ſing'd victims crops the curling hair. Pope.

So that Theſeus did not upon this occaſion make uſe of the ſword which had been delivered to him by his father's directions, but his cutlace, in drawing whereof it was neceſſary for him to caſt his mantle backwards, and thereby give his father a ſight of his ſword.

* it had been actually reported that Ægeus was the ſon of Scyrius, and that Pandion was deſirous to have him paſs for his. The Pallantidæ did not fail to ſpread a report ſo advantageous to their purpoſes.

their

their father againſt the city; the other hiding themſelves in Gargettus, lay in ambuſh with a deſign to ſet upon the enemy on both ſides. They had with them a herald of the town of Agnus, named *Leos*, who diſcovered to Theſeus all the deſigns of the Pallantidæ: he immediately fell upon them that lay in ambuſcade, and cut them all off; which Pallas and his company hearing, they immediately fled.

From hence they ſay is derived the cuſtom for the Palleneans * to have no marriages with the people of Agnus, nor to ſuffer their criers to pronounce in their proclamations theſe words, ſolemnly uſed in all other parts of the country, *Acouete Leos*, (*Hear ye people!*); ſo great is their hatred to the very name of Leos, on account of his treachery.

Theſeus longing to be in action, and withal deſirous to make himſelf popular, left Athens to fight with the bull of Marathon, which did no ſmall miſchief to the inhabitants of Tetrapolis; and having overcome it, he brought it alive in triumph through the city, and afterwards ſacrificed it to Apollo Delphinius. As to Hecale, and the ſtory of her receiving and entertaining Theſeus in this expedition, it ſeems to be not altogether void of truth: for from hence the people round about, meeting upon a certain day, offered a ſacrifice, which they called *Hecaleſium*, to Jupiter Hecalus, in honour of Hecale, whom by a diminutive they called *Hecalene*, becauſe when ſhe entertained Theſeus while he was but a youth, ſhe, as the cuſtom of old people is, careſſed and called him by ſuch tender diminutive names; and having made a vow to Jupiter for him as he was going to the fight, that if he returned in ſafety, ſhe would offer ſacrifices in thanks for it, and dying before he came back, ſhe received the forementioned return of her hoſpitality, by the command

* The Pallantidæ lived in the town of Pallene.

of

of Theſeus, as * Philochorus relates the ſtory.

Not long after arrived the third time from Crete the collectors of the tribute which the Athenians paid the Cretans upon the following occaſion. † Androgeus having been thought to be treacherouſly murdered in Attica, not only Minos diſtreſſed the Athenians by war, but the Gods alſo laid waſte their country; for they were oppreſſed both by famine and peſtilence, and their rivers were dried up. But being told by the oracle, that if they appeaſed Minos, the anger of the Gods would ceaſe, and they ſhould be relieved from the miſeries they laboured under; they ſent ambaſſadors, and with much entreaty at laſt obtained a peace, upon condition they ſhould ſend to Crete every ninth year a tribute of ſeven young men, and as many virgins.

Thus far writers are generally agreed; but the fabulous tragical account of the ſtory adds, that the Minotaur deſtroyed them in the labyrinth, or that they were left to wander about in it, and finding no poſſible means of getting out, miſerably ended their lives there; ‡ and that this Minotaur was (as Euripides expreſſes it)

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* This Philochorus was an Athenian, and lived at the ſame time with Ptolemy Philopater, about 200 years before the birth of our Saviour. He was the author of ſeveral valuable works, which are loſt; ſuch as the hiſtory of the Athenians, or of Attica, in ſeventeen books; A catalogue of the Archons; A book of ſacrifices; The origin of Salamin; Two books of the Olympiads, and ſeventeen of the battles of the Athenians.

† Ægeus had cauſed him to be murdered, becauſe he was in the intereſt of the Pallantidæ, and had promiſed to aſſiſt them. Others ſay he was ſlain by the bull of Marathon, and that Minos unjuſtly accuſed the Athenians as the authors of his death.

‡ It had been a cuſtom with Minos to ſacrifice to Neptune, once every year, the moſt beautifull bull that could be found. One day he meet with one ſo extremely handſome that he was charmed with it, and inſtead of ſacrificing it, offered another in its ſtead. Neptune being provoked hereat, made Paſiphae in love with this bull, and Dædalus ſo far proſtituted his art as to make it inſtrumental in gratifying ſo horrible a paſſion, the fruit of which was a monſter called

A mingled form, where two ſtrange ſhapes combin'd;
And different natures, bull and man, were join'd.

But Philochorus writes, that the Cretans deny this, and ſay, that the labyrinth was only an ordinary priſon, that there was nothing terrible in it, except that it ſecured the priſoners from eſcaping; and that Minos, having inſtituted games in honour of Androgeus, gave as a reward to the victors thoſe youths who till that time had been priſoners in the labyrinth: and that the firſt that overcame in thoſe games, was * one of great power and influence in the court of Minos, named *Taurus*, a man of a brutal ſavage diſpoſition, who behaved towards thoſe Athenian youths that were made his prize, in a moſt proud and inſolent manner. † And even Ariſtotle himſelf, in the account that he gives of the government of the Bottiæans, is manifeſtly of opinion, that theſe youths were not ſlain by Minos, but that they ſpent the remainder of their days in ſlavery in Crete; and that the Cretans once, to acquit themſelves of an ancient vow, ſent an offering of their firſt-born to Delphi, and that ſome deſcendents of theſe Athenian ſlaves were ſent amongſt

called *Minotaurus*, partly a man, and partly a bull. This is what we find in the fable.

* This is more probable than the manner wherein Palæphatus explains the fable. He ſays that this Taurus was one of Minos's courtiers, that Paſiphae fell in love with him, and that Minos having diſcovered the intrigue, ſent the preſumptuous lover to be a ſervant to his ſhepherds that fed their flocks upon the mountains; that the young gallant rebelled, and became ſo formidable, that Minos endeavoured in vain to ſeize him, and loſt all thoſe whom he ſent againſt him; inſomuch that he thought it adviſable to make uſe of him, to puniſh his offending ſubjects, or ſuch of his enemies as fell into his hands, and whom he was deſirous to deſtroy; and that having taken Theſeus in a combat, he ſent him to Taurus, who was killed by Theſeus, Ariadne having privately provided him with a ſword for that purpoſe.

† Among the works of Ariſtotle, which are loſt, there is one, wherein he gives a deſcription of 158 communities, which is the book here quoted by Plutarch.

them:

them: * who not being able to ſubſiſt there, removed firſt into Italy, and ſettled in Apulia, whence they afterwards removed to Thrace, and were named *Bottiæans* †; and that this is the reaſon why in a certain ſacrifice, the Bottiæan girls ſing a hymn, beginning thus, *To Athens let us go*. And from this it appears how dangerous it is to incur the hatred of a city that is miſtreſs of eloquence and the ſeat of the muſes. For Minos was always ill ſpoken of, and repreſented as a very bad man upon the Athenian ſtage; ‡ nor was it any advantage to him to be called by *Heſiod*, *The greateſt of Kings*, and by Ho-

* It is certain that ſeveral colonies have been ſent out of Crete into Italy. Strabo mentions the inhabitants of Brunduſium and the Salentines as ſuch. It appears moreover from a paſſage in the ſame author, that the Cretans who paſſed into Italy, did it under the conduct of Theſeus, and that they were joined by another body of their countrymen, who had been tranſported out of Crete into Sicily, in ſhips belonging to Minos, and that the firſt band diſagreeing with the laſt comers, they removed into that part of Thrace which is called *Bottiæa*.

† A great many of the Bottiæans always retained a tender remembrance of Athens, by reaſon of their deſcent from thence; and I am of opinion that upon this is founded that paſſage in Thucydides, who reports, that when the Athenians carried their arms into Bottiæa, and beſieged Spartola, they had not undertaken that ſiege but from the hopes they had conceived of the town's ſurrendering to them by reaſon of a party among the inhabitants who were on their ſide; but the contrary party prevailed, and received ſuccours from Olynthus.

‡ Here Plutarch falls into a miſtake, as have likewiſe ſeveral other authors, both before and after him. There were two of the name of Minos, and they both reigned in Crete. One was the ſon of Jupiter and Europa; and the other his grandſon, and the ſon of Lycaſtes. The firſt was a prince renowned for his juſtice, and for that reaſon the poets made him a judge in the infernal regions. The other was a tyrant. That which Homer and Heſiod have ſaid of the firſt, Plutarch has aſcribed to the ſecond, as if there had been only one of that name. Plato has been guilty of the ſame blunder twice, in his dialogue called *Minos*; but Plutarch is more to be blamed, in that he could not but have heard ſomething that might have led him to make a diſtinction between theſe two princes, as appears from what follows, and which might have ſerved to convince him of the truth, if he had attended to it; for Diodorus Siculus has very juſtly diſtinguiſhed them in his ſixth book.

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mer *, *The companion of Jupiter*; for the tragedians † prevailing, ſpread a very ill character of him from the ſtage, as a cruel and inhuman prince; though it be ſaid that really Minos was a very good king and lawgiver, and that ‡ Rhadamanthus was a judge who enforced the obſervance of the laws which Minos had made.

When the time of the third tribute was come, and the fathers who had any young men for their ſons, were obliged to produce them, in order to take their chance by lot; there aroſe freſh diſcontents and accuſations againſt Ægeus among the people, who were full of grief and indignation, that he, who was the cauſe of all their miſeries, ſhould be the only perſon exempt from the puniſhment; and that he ſhould ſettle his kingdom upon a ſon who was a baſtard and a foreigner, without ſhowing any concern for them, who were deprived of their legi-

* The paſſage to which Plutarch refers in this place, is in the nineteenth book of the Odyſſey.

† Plutarch has taken this from the Minos of Plato, where Socrates replies to him, who had aſked him how it came about that a King who had been ſo highly praiſed by Homer and Heſiod, ſhould be reputed a perſon of a barbarous and cruel diſpoſition: *Whoever*, ſays he, *has a concern for his reputation, ought never to be upon ill terms with a poet; for the teſtimony of poets is of great weight, whether it tends to praiſe or diſpraiſe; and in this Minos was wanting, for he can never be too much condemned for the hoſtilities he committed againſt this city (Athens), the ſeat of all ſorts of erudition, and where tragedy in particular reigns in full luſtre; for here it had its firſt being, and was not the invention either of Phrynichus or Theſpis. And tragedy more than any other kind of poetry delights and captivates the people, and there it is that we find him continually inveighed againſt by the poets in juſt revenge for the cruel tribute he impoſed upon us. This is the rock on which he ſplit, the hatred of the Athenians, which proved the ſource of all the ill reports that have been ſpread of him ſo injurious to his memory, though he was in truth a good man, a juſt prince, and an excellent legiſlator.*

‡ This is likewiſe taken from the ſame dialogue, wherein Socrates, after having obſerved that Homer in his Odyſſey makes mention only of Minos, to whom he gives a ſceptre of gold, adds, that Rhadamanthus alſo was a very good man, and had been the diſciple of Minos, who did not indeed inſtruct him in the ſcience proper for a king, but taught him how to obey his orders in adminiſtering juſtice to the ſubjects, and putting his laws in execution.

timate children. Theſe things very ſenſibly affected Theſeus, who thinking he ought not to neglect, but rather to partake of the ſufferings of his fellow-citizens, freely offered to go without drawing any lot. All admired this inſtance of generoſity and public ſpirit; and Ægeus, after all his entreaties, finding him inflexible, proceeded to the chuſing of the reſt by lot. But * Hellanicus writes, that the Athenians did not ſend the young men and virgins as they were choſen by lot; but that † Minos himſelf coming thither made his own choice, and that now he pitched upon Theſeus before all others. The conditions agreed upon were, that the ‡ Athenians ſhould furniſh them with a ſhip; that the young men who were to ſail with him ſhould carry no weapon of war; and that if the Minotaur was deſtroyed, this tribute ſhould ceaſe.

There appearing no hopes of ſafety or return, at the two former payments of this tribute, they ſent out the ſhip with a black ſail, as to unavoidable deſtruction. But now Theſeus encouraging his father, by his confidence of ſucceſs againſt the Minotaur, Ægeus gave the pilot another ſail which was white, commanding him as he returned, if Theſeus eſcaped, to make uſe of that; but if not, to ſail with the black one, as a ſignal of his misfortune. Simonides indeed ſays, that the ſail which Ægeus deli-

* There were two hiſtorians of that name, one a native of Mitylene, and the other of Miletus. The firſt was much more ancient than the ſecond, for he lived before Herodotus. He was the author of ſeveral works which are all loſt. The hiſtory of Attica was one of them, of which Thucydides has given us the following character; *That it was written in a very cloſe conciſe ſtyle, but was not exact as to chronology.*

† Diodorus agrees with Hellanicus in this particular. He ſays that Minos marched to Athens every ſeventh year at the head of a powerful army to exact the tribute.

‡ The Athenians, in reſpect to their king, and for the credit of the ſtate, were to furniſh the ſhip on which Theſeus, with the reſt of the tribute, were to embark, that the voyage might appear voluntary, without the air of compulſion or ſlavery.

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vered to the pilot, was not white, but purple dyed in grain with the * flower of a certain tree, and that this was to be a ſign of their eſcape. He alſo ſays that Amarſyadas Phereclus was pilot of the ſhip. But, according to Philochorus, Theſeus had a pilot † ſent him by Scirus, from Salamin, named *Nauſitheus*, and another ſailor to manage the head of the ſhip, named *Phæax*; becauſe as yet the Athenians ‡ had not applied themſelves to navigation. Scirus, he ſays, did this, becauſe one of the young

* Plutarch makes uſe in this place of Simonides's own words, who calls ἄνθος πρίνυ, the flower of the holm oak, what the ancients called πρίνυ κοκκόν, *coccum ilicis, the fruit, the berry of the oak*, which was of the colour of ſcarlet, and much uſed by the dyers. It is ſaid that this *coccum ilicis* is full of little worms, the blood of which produces that beautiful colour, which from thence is called *vermilion, a verniculis. Coccum ilicis celerrime in vermiculum ſe mutans.* Plin. xxiv. 4.

† Scirus, who was an Athenian, could not provide Theſeus with a pilot from Athens, becauſe the Athenians, as Plutarch tells us in the following lines, had not as yet applied themſelves to maritime affairs, and conſequently had no pilots amongſt them; for this reaſon he had one ſent him from the iſle of Salamin, where they had them very expert.

‡ We are told the firſt ſhip they put to ſea was the Argo; but that cannot be, if we may credit Eumelus, a poet as ancient as Homer, who ſays that Æetes ſailed from Corinth to Colchos with his daughter Medea. But be that as it will; whether Æetes's ſhip or that of the Argonauts was the firſt ſailor, it makes little difference as to the time; for Theſeus accompanied Jaſon in his expedition to Colchos, from whence he brought Medea back into Greece. That which is moſt certain is, that the Athenians did not for a long time apply themſelves to navigation. Thucydides tells us expreſsly in his firſt book, that they did not begin to make any figure at ſea till ten or twelve years after the battle of Marathon. However Homer ſays that they ſent fifty veſſels to the ſiege of Troy; but they were tranſport-ſhips, or open boats, and not ſhips of war. And even that was no ſmall matter, if we conſider that having not begun to apply themſelves to building ſhips till Theſeus's time, they ſhould be able in the ſpace of thirty or forty years to ſend ſo conſiderable a ſupply to Agamemnon. But that which is moſt ſurpriſing, is, that they ſhould be ſo long before they made any further progreſs; (for there was the ſpace of near ſeven hundred years between the ſiege of Troy and the battle of Marathon), and that ſo ſoon after that battle they ſhould get the reputation of being the moſt expert ſeamen in the world; for it became a common proverb in Greece, *The Athenians for the ſea.*

men, Mneſthes, was his daughter's ſon; and this is confirmed by the monuments of Nauſitheus and Phæax, built by Theſeus in Phalerum, near the temple of Scirus. He adds alſo, that the feaſt named *Cybernefia*, (or feaſt of pilots), was inſtituted in honour of them. The lot being caſt, and Theſeus taking with him out of the Prytaneum thoſe upon whom it fell, went to the Delphinian temple, and made an offering to Apollo for their ſafe return; this offering was a bough of a conſecrated olive-tree, bound about with white wool.

Having thus performed his devotion, he embarked the ſixth day of the month Munichion, [April], on which day, even till this time, the Athenians ſend their virgins to the ſame temple to make ſupplication to the gods. It is farther reported, that he was commanded by the oracle at Delphi to make Venus his guide, and to invoke her as the companion and conductreſs of his voyage; and that as he was ſacrificing to her a ſhe-goat by the ſea-ſide, it was ſuddenly changed into an he-goat; on which account that goddeſs had the name of *Epitragia*, from *tragos*, which ſignifies *a goat*.

When he arrived in Crete, as moſt of the ancient hiſtorians as well as poets write, he had a clew of thread given him by Ariadne, who had fallen in love with him; and being inſtructed by her in the uſe of it, which was to conduct him through all the windings of the labyrinth, he ſlew the minotaur, and ſailed back, taking with him Ariadne, and the young Athenian captives. Pherecydes * adds, that he bored holes in the keels of the Cretan ſhips, to

* There were two of that name: one of the iſle of Scyros, a great philoſopher, the maſter of Pythagoras and Thales. He was the firſt among them that aſſerted the immortality of the ſoul, and found out the cauſe of eclipſes. He flouriſhed in the days of Servius Tullius, 550 years before the birth of our Saviour. The other was an hiſtorian, born in the iſle of Leria. He was not ſo ancient as the firſt, but was before Herodotus, who was not above eight years old when this Pherecydes flouriſhed, 476 or 477 years before Chriſt.

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hinder their purſuit. And Demon * writes, that Taurus, the chief captain of Minos, was ſlain in a naval combat by Theſeus in the mouth of the haven, immediately before he ſet ſail for Athens. But Philochorus gives us the ſtory thus. At the exhibiting the games which Minos had cauſed to be annually celebrated in honour of his ſon; it was thought that Taurus would certainly bear away the prize from all, as he had done before. But every one grudged him this honour; for his power grew grievous and inſupportable by reaſon of the inſolence of his manners; and beſides, he had been accuſed of too near a familiarity with Paſiphae the queen: therefore when Theſeus deſired the combat, Minos readily granted his requeſt. And as it was a cuſtom in Crete that the women ſhould be admitted to the ſight of theſe games, Ariadne, being preſent, was ſtrangely ſurpriſed at the manly beauty of Theſeus, and ſtruck with admiration at the vigour and addreſs which he ſhowed in the combat, and by which he overcame all that encountered him. Minos too being extremely pleaſed, eſpecially ſince Taurus was vanquiſhed and diſgraced, voluntarily gave up the young captives to Theſeus, and remitted the tribute to the Athenians. But † Clidemus gives an account of theſe things peculiar to himſelf, very prolix, and beginning a great way back. He ſays, that it was a decree conſented to by all Greece ‡, that no veſſel from any place, con-

* He was a native of Cyrene. Diogenes Laertius ſays that he wrote a treatiſe concerning the philoſophers. Athenæus likewiſe attributes to him another treatiſe concerning Byzantium. It is not known in what time he lived.

† The ancients quote him as the author of the hiſtory of Attica, and of the unexpected return of thoſe who had been long abſent from their country. Meurſius is of opinion that the author quoted here by Plutarch is not Clidemus but Clitodemus, the firſt of any that wrote of Attica.

‡ There does not appear among all the remains of antiquity the leaſt foundation for what is aſſerted here by Clidemus. Perhaps this was a ſort of embargo laid in Greece, that the ſhip deſigned for Colchos might the ſooner have her complement.

taining above five perſons, ſhould be permitted to ſail; Jaſon only, who was captain of the great ſhip Argo, was allowed to ſail about and ſcour the ſea of pirates. But * Dædalus, having eſcaped from Crete, and flying by ſea to Athens, Minos, who, contrary to this decree, purſued him with his great ſhips, was forced by a ſtorm upon Sicily, and there ended his life. After his deceaſe, Deucalion his ſon, being incenſed againſt the Athenians, ſent to them, commanding them to deliver up Dædalus, and threatening, upon their refuſal, to put to death all the young Athenians whom his father Minos had received as hoſtages from the city. To this angry meſſage, Theſeus returned a very gentle anſwer, excuſing himſelf that he could not deliver up Dædalus, who was ſo nearly related to him, being his couſin, for his mother was Merope, the daughter of Erectheus. In the mean while he was very buſy in preparing a navy, part of it at home near the village of the Thymœtadæ, being a place of no reſort, and far from any public road; the other part under his grandfather Pittheus's direction at Trœzene, that ſo his deſign might be carried on with the greateſt ſecrecy. As ſoon as his fleet was in readineſs, he ſet ſail, taking with him Dædalus and the other fugitives from Crete for his guides; and none of the Cretans having any knowledge of his coming, but imagining, when they ſaw his fleet, that they were friends, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of the haven; and immediately making a deſcent, he arrived at Gnoſſus before any notice of his coming could be received; and joining battle before the gates of the labyrinth, he put Deucalion and all his guards to

* He fled firſt into Sicily, where Cocalus was king. Minos purſued him with a great fleet, and landing upon the iſland, ſent to demand the fugitive. The king promiſed to ſurrender him, and invited Minos to his court, where he cauſed him to be ſtifled in a bath, and reſtoring the corpſe to his officers, pretended that he fell unfortunately into a caldron of hot water, which was the cauſe of his death. *Diodor.*

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the ſword. The government by this means falling to Ariadne, he made a league with her, received the captives of her, and ratified a perpetual friendſhip between the Athenians and the Cretans, whom he engaged under an oath never again to make war with Athens.

There are many other reports about theſe things, and as many concerning Ariadne, but none of any certainty. For ſome relate, that ſhe hanged herſelf, being deſerted by Theſeus. Others, that ſhe was carried away by his ſailors to the iſle of Naxos, and married to Onarus, one of the prieſts of Bacchus; and that Theſeus left her, becauſe he fell in love with another:

For Ægle's love had pierc'd his manly breaſt.

For this verſe, as Hereas the Megarenſian ſays, was formerly in Heſiod's works, but expunged by Piſiſtratus, in like manner as he added this other in *Homer's deſcription of the ſtate of the dead*, to gratify the Athenians,

Theſeus, Peirithous, both ſons of gods.

Others report, that Ariadne had two ſons by Theſeus, Oenopion and Staphylus; and among theſe is the poet Ion, of Chios, who writes thus of his own native city,

Built by Oenopion the great Theſeus' ſon.

What the poets have generally related concerning theſe things is in every one's mouth; but there is a very ſingular account of them written by Pæon * the Amathuſian. He ſays, that Theſeus being driven by a ſtorm upon the iſle of Cyprus, and having aboard with him Ariadne, big with child, and extremely diſcompoſed with the rolling of the ſea, ſet her on ſhore, and left her there alone, while he re-

* He wrote an account of the gallantries of the city of Amathus in Cyprus.

turned

turned to help the ſhip; and that on a ſudden, by a violent wind, he was again forced out to ſea; that the women of the iſland received Ariadne very kindly, and endeavoured to mitigate her grief for being left behind; that they counterfeited kind letters, and delivered them to her as ſent from Theſeus, and, when ſhe fell in labour, afforded her all neceſſary aſſiſtance; but that ſhe died in childbed before ſhe could be delivered, and was by them honourably interred; that Theſeus returned juſt at that time, and was greatly afflicted for her loſs, and at his departure left a conſiderable ſum of money among the people of the iſland, ordering them to ſacrifice and pay divine honour to Ariadne; and that he cauſed two little ſtatues to be made and dedicated to her, one of ſilver, and the other of braſs. He further adds, that on the ſecond day of the month Gorpiæus, [September], they have this among other ceremonies; a youth lies in bed, and with his voice and geſture counterfeits all the pains of a woman in travail; and that the Amathuſians call the grove in which they ſhow her tomb, the grove of *Venus Ariadne.*

A different account of this is given by ſome of the Naxians. They ſay that there were two Minos's and two Ariadne's; one of whom was married to Bacchus in the iſle of Naxos, and bore a ſon named *Staphylus*; but that the other, of a later age, was raviſhed by Theſeus, and being afterwards deſerted by him, retired to Naxos with her nurſe Corcyne, whoſe grave they yet ſhow; that this Ariadne alſo died there, and was worſhipped by the iſlanders, but in a different manner from the former: for her day is celebrated with feaſts and revels *, and univerſal joy; but all the ſacrifices performed

* This paſſage is remarkable. The feaſts which were celebrated in honour of the firſt Ariadne, her whom Bacchus married, were more honourable than thoſe obſerved in memory of the other, who

formed to the latter, are mingled with ſorrow and mourning.

Theſeus, in his return from Crete, put in at Delos *, and having ſacrificed to Apollo, and dedicated in the temple the image of Venus † which Ariadne had given him, he danced with the young Athenians a dance, that, in memory of him, is ſtill preſerved among the inhabitants of Delos, and which, by its various turnings and involutions, imitated the intricate windings of the labyrinth. And this dance, as ‡ Dicæarchus writes, is called among

who had been ſtolen by Theſeus. In the former nothing was to be ſeen but joy, in the latter the marks of grief. The firſt denoted that the heroine was not dead, but become a divinity; the other ſignified quite contrary. It was in this view that Alexander was enraged at Agathocles, and would have thrown him to the lions for having wept as he paſſed by the tomb of Hephæſtion, as if he had thought that favourite dead indeed; but Perdiccas ſaved his life, by affirming that the new deity had appeared to him, and aſſured him, that Agathocles did not in the leaſt doubt of his divinity, but that in the infirmity of human nature, he could not forbear ſhedding a tear when that object preſented his friend to his memory.

* Theſeus, before he left Athens, had made a vow, that the Athenians ſhould annually ſend deputies to Delos aboard the ſame veſſel wherein he was ready to embark, having firſt crowned it with ſome boughs of the conſecrated olive. Theſe deputies were to perform a ſacrifice to Apollo; and this ceremony was religiouſly obſerved by the Athenians for many years after. This deputation was termed *Theoria*, a viſit to the god; the deputies *Theori*, and the veſſel *Theoris*. As ſoon as the high prieſt had crowned the veſſel in order for its departure, the city was purified, and no criminal was put to death till its return.

† This image, or ſtatue, was of wood carved by Dædalus, who made a preſent of it to Ariadne. After her death Theſeus conſecrated it to Apollo, fearing, if he took it with him, it would continually remind him of that princeſs, and renew his ſorrow. Pauſanias tells us, that this ſtatue was to be ſeen at Delos even in his days; that it was very ſmall; that length of time had worn out its right hand, and that it ended in a ſquare below. It is to be obſerved, that before Dædalus none of the ſtatues had feet to them: he was the firſt that gave them that finiſhing; for which reaſon it was ſaid that his ſtatues were alive, and walked. But this commendation was due only to his laſt works, his firſt performmances were in the antique ſtyle.

‡ Dicæarchus was of Meſſene, and a diſciple of Ariſtotle. He was author of a work entitled *The republic of Sparta*. He wrote alſo a deſcription of the manners of the Grecians.

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the Delians the *Crane* *. This he danced round the *Ceratonian* † altar, ſo called from its being built entirely with horns; and theſe were taken only from the left ſide of the head. They ſay alſo, that he inſtituted games in Delos, where he was the firſt that began the cuſtom of giving a palm to the victors.

When they were come near the coaſt of Attica, ſo great was the joy for the happy ſucceſs of their voyage, that neither Theſeus himſelf, nor the pilot, remembered to hang out the ſail which ſhould have been the token of their ſafety to Ægeus; who, knowing nothing of their ſucceſs, for grief threw himſelf headlong from a rock, and periſhed in the ſea. But Theſeus being arrived at the port of Phalerum, offered there the ſacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at his departure, and ſent a herald to the city with news of his ſafe return. At his entrance into the city, he found the people for the moſt part full of grief for the loſs of their king; others, as may be well believed, as full of joy for the meſſage that he brought, and eager to expreſs their kindneſs towards him, and to crown him ‡ with garlands for bringing ſuch welcome news; but though he accepted of the garlands, he would not put them on his head, but hung them upon his herald's ſtaff: and thus returning to the ſea-ſide, be-

* Callimachus, in his hymn for Delos, makes mention of this dance without naming it. He ſays it was a round dance; and that Theſeus, at the firſt inſtitution of it, led it up himſelf. I am of opinion it was called the *Crane*, from its figure; becauſe he that led it was at the head, folding and unfolding the circle, in imitation of the turnings and windings in the labyrinth, juſt as in a flight of cranes there is one always at the head to conduct the reſt, who follow in a circle.

† Callimachus in his hymn to Apollo mentions this altar, which he ſays was built by Apollo himſelf with the horns of ſtags which Diana had taken in hunting. Plutarch ſpeaking of this altar in another part of his works, ſays that the horns were all taken from the right ſide of the head.

‡ This cuſtom was brought from Delphi. They who went thither to conſult the oracle, and received a favourable anſwer, returned home with a crown of laurel on their heads.

fore

fore Theſeus had finiſhed his libation to the gods, he ſtaid without, for fear of diſturbing the holy rites; but as ſoon as the libation was ended, he entered, and related the whole ſtory of the king's death; upon the hearing of which, with great lamentations, and a confuſed tumult of grief, they ran in all haſte to the city. And from hence they ſay it comes, that to this day, in the *Oſchophoria*, or *feaſt of boughs*, the herald is not crowned, but his ſtaff; and that the people then preſent ſtill break out at the ſacrifice into this ſhout, *Eleleu*, *Iou*, *Iou*, of which ſounds the * firſt was wont to be uſed by men in haſte, or at a triumph, the other is proper to thoſe who are in great conſternation or trouble.

Theſeus, after the funeral of his father, paid his vows to Apollo the ſeventh day of Pyanepſion, [October]; for on that day the youth that returned with him ſafe from Crete, made their entry into the city. They ſay alſo, that the cuſtom of boiling pulſe at this feaſt is derived from hence, that the young men who had eſcaped, taking all that was left of their proviſion, and boiling it in one common pot, feaſted upon it all together. Hence alſo they carry in proceſſion an olive-branch bound about with wool (ſuch as they then made uſe of in their ſupplications) which they call *Eireſione*, crowned with all ſorts of fruits, to ſignify that ſcarcity and barrenneſs was ceaſed, ſinging in their proceſſion this ſong,

Eireſione figs produce,
And wholeſome bread and cheerful oil,
And honey, labouring bees ſweet toil;
But above all wine's noble juice:
Then cares we in the cup ſhall ſteep,
And full of joy receive ſoft ſleep.

* The firſt denotes the precipitation with which Theſeus marched towards Athens, in a readineſs to force his way if he was refuſed entrance; the other repreſents the trouble and grief with which he was ſeized at the news of his father's death.

But

But ſome are of opinion, that this ceremony is retained in memory of the * Heraclidæ, who were entertained by the Athenians: but moſt are of the opinion which we have above delivered. The ſhip wherein Theſeus and the youth of Athens ſet out and returned ſafe, had thirty oars, and was preſerved by the Athenians, even down to † the time of Demetrius Phalereus; for they took away the old planks as they decayed, putting in new timber in their place; inſomuch that this ſhip became a ſtanding example among the philoſophers, whenever they diſputed upon that logical queſtion concerning the identity of things whoſe parts are continually changing by growth; one ſide holding, that the ſhip remained the ſame, and the other contending, that it was not the ſame.

The feaſt called *Oſchophoria*, or feaſt of boughs, which to this day the Athenians celebrate, was then firſt inſtituted by Theſeus. For he did not take with him the full number of virgins, which by lot were to have been carried away, but ſelected two youths of his acquaintance, of fair and womaniſh faces, but of a bold and manly ſpirit; and having by frequent bathing, by avoiding the heat of the ſun, by dreſſing their hair, and conſtantly uſing

* The deſcendents of Hercules having been driven out of Peloponneſus, and all Greece, went in the condition of ſuppliants to beg the relief of the Athenians, who received them into their protection. This ſubject is treated of by Euripides in his Heraclidæ. So that the verſes here mentioned by Plutarch may be very eaſily applied to them. For it might ſignify that the branches of ſuppliants which they bore in their hands, and with which they were crowned, proved to them the ſource of that plenty, which they enjoyed in Athens.

† That is, near 1000 years; for Demetrius was contemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus, who put him in priſon, where he died of the bite of an aſpic. Now, that the Athenians continued to ſend this ſhip to Delos when Ptolemy was king, appears from a paſſage in Callimachus, who lived in that prince's court. As for Demetrius Phalereus, he was a man of great note: he governed Athens for ten years together, and had 360 ſtatues erected to his honour in that city. He had been Theophraſtus's diſciple.

ſuch ointments and waſhes as render the ſkin ſmooth and the complexion delicate, in a manner changed them from what they were before; and having taught them further to counterfeit the very voice, carriage, and gait of virgins, ſo that there could not be the leaſt difference perceived, he, undiſcovered by any, put them among the Athenian maids deſigned for Crete. At his return, he, with theſe two youths, led up a ſolemn proceſſion, dreſſed in the ſame habit that is now worn by thoſe who carry the branches. Theſe branches they carry in honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, on account of their ſtory before related, or rather becauſe they happened to return in autumn, the time of gathering ripe fruits. The women, whom they call *Deipnophoræ*, (or ſupper-carriers), are taken into theſe ceremonies *, and aſſiſt at the ſacrifice, in imitation of the mothers of the young men and virgins upon whom the lot fell, who brought proviſions and refreſhments to their children. And becauſe the women then told their ſons and daughters a great many ſtories to comfort and encourage them under the danger they were going upon, it has ſtill continued a cuſtom, that at this feaſt old fables and tales ſhould be the chief diſcourſe. For all theſe particulars we are beholden to the hiſtory of Demon. There was a place conſecrated, and a temple erected on it to Theſeus, who obliged thoſe families

* This ceremony was performed in the following manner. They made choice of a certain number of youths of the moſt noble families in each tribe, whoſe fathers and mothers both were living. They bore vine-branches in their hands with grapes upon them, and ran from the temple of Bacchus to that of Minerva Scirada, which was near the Phalerean gate. He that arrived there firſt, drank off a cup of wine mingled with honey, cheeſe, meal, and oil. They were followed by a chorus conducted by two young men dreſſed in womens apparel, the chorus ſinging a ſong to the praiſe of thoſe young men. Certain women with baſkets on their heads attended them, and were choſen for that office from among the moſt wealthy of the citizens. The whole proceſſion was headed by a herald bearing a ſtaff encircled with boughs.

out of which the tribute of the youth, in caſe it had continued, was to have been paid, inſtead thereof to pay a tax to the temple for ſacrifices to him. The houſe of the Phytalidæ had the management of theſe ſacrifices, Theſeus doing them that honour in recompenſe of their former hoſpitality.

After the death of his father Ægeus, forming in his mind a great and wonderful deſign, he gathered together all the inhabitants of Attica into one town, and made them one people of one city, who were before diſperſed, and very difficult to be aſſembled upon any affair, though relating to the common benefit of them all. Nay, often ſuch differences happened between them, as occaſioned bloodſhed and war: theſe by his perſuaſions he appeaſed, and going from people to people, and from tribe to tribe, propoſed his deſign of a common agreement among them. Thoſe of a more private and mean condition readily embraced ſo good advice; to thoſe of greater power and intereſt he promiſed a commonwealth, wherein monarchy being laid aſide, the power ſhould be in the people; and that, reſerving to himſelf only to be continued their commander in war, and the preſerver of their laws, there ſhould be an equal diſtribution of all things elſe among them. By this means he brought many of them over to his propoſal; and the reſt fearing his power, which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his courage and reſolution, choſe rather to be perſuaded than forced into a compliance. He then diſſolved all the diſtinct courts of juſtice, and council-halls and corporations, and built one common Prytaneum and council-hall, where it ſtands to this day; and out of the old and the new city he made one *, which he named *Athens*, ordaining

* Plutarch's meaning without doubt is, that Theſeus comprehended under the general name of *Athens*, the old town, which was called *Aſty*, *the city*, and the new one which he had compoſed of a collection

ing a common feaſt and ſacrifice to be for ever obſerved, which he called *Panathenæa* *, (or the ſacrifice of all the united Athenians.) He inſtituted alſo another ſacrifice, called *Metœcia* †, *tranſmigration*, which is ſtill celebrated on the 16th day of Hecatombæon [July]. Then, as he had promiſed, he laid down his regal power, and ſettled a commonwealth, not without advice from the gods: for having ſent to conſult the oracle of Delphi, concerning the fortune of his new government, he received this anſwer:

Hear, Theſeus, Pittheus' daughter's ſon,
Hear what Jove for thee has done.
In the great city thou haſt made,
He has, as in a ſtorehouſe, laid
The ſettled periods and fix'd fates
Of many cities, mighty ſtates.
But know thou neither fear nor pain,
Solicit not thyſelf in vain.

collection of all the inhabitants drawn from the ſeveral boroughs, and now incorporated. Long before this the name of *Athens* had been given to the old town, and Theſeus now made it common both to the old and the new.

* Before Theſeus's time they had a feaſt at Athens, called *Athenæa*; but that being peculiar to the inhabitants of Athens, Theſeus now enlarged it, and made it common to all the inhabitants of Attica in general; for which reaſon it was called *Panathenæa*. There were the greater and the leſſer Panathenæa. The firſt were celebrated every fifth year on the 23d of Hecatombæon, which anſwers to our July, and the leſſer were kept annually on the 20th of Thargelion, which is our May. Theſe feaſts at firſt were very plain, and laſted but for a day; but in time there was an addition of ſo many games and ceremonies, that ſeveral days were requiſite for the performance of them. During the celebration of the grand feaſts, they carried in proceſſion to Minerva's temple the myſterious embroidered veil called *peplum*, on which were deſcribed the victory of the gods over the giants, and the moſt remarkable actions of their greateſt worthies.

† Thucydides calls it *Συνοικια*. The ſenſe of both is the ſame. This ſacrifice was by no means intended for the uſe of ſtrangers, who might come and live at Athens, but for the inhabitants who had already quitted their boroughs, and held their aſſemblies in the city. It was to preſerve the memory of that tranſmigration.

For, like a bladder that does 'bide
The fury of the angry tide,
Thou from high waves unhurt ſhalt bound,
Always toſs'd, but never drown'd.

Which oracle *, they ſay, the Sybil long after did in a manner repeat to the Athenians, in this verſe:

The bladder may be dipp'd, but never drown'd.

Deſigning yet further to enlarge his city, he invited all ſtrangers to come and enjoy equal privileges with the natives; and ſome are of opinion, that the form of proclamation ſometimes uſed in Athens, *Come hither all ye people*, were the words that Theſeus cauſed to be proclaimed, when he thus ſet up a commonwealth, conſiſting, in a manner, of all nations. Yet he ſuffered not his ſtate, by the promiſcuous multitude that flowed in, to be put into confuſion, and left without any order or degree, but was the firſt that divided the commonwealth into three diſtinct ranks, the noblemen, the huſbandmen, and artificers. To the nobility he committed the care of religion, the choice of magiſtrates, the teaching and diſpenſing of the laws, and the interpretation of all ſacred matters; the whole city, in other reſpects, being as it were reduced to an exact equality, the nobles excelling the reſt in honour, the huſbandmen in uſefulneſs to the public, and the artificers in number. And that Theſeus was the firſt, who, as Ariſtotle ſays, out of an inclination to popular government, parted with the regal power, Homer alſo ſeems to prove in his *catalogue of the ſhips*, where he gives the name of *people* to the Athenians only.

* When Sylla had gotten poſſeſſion of Athens, where he exerciſed all manner of cruelties, ſome Athenians who had ſaved themſelves by flight, went to Delphi, and aſked the god if the laſt hour of their city was come? The prieſteſs anſwered, Τὰ ἐς τὸν ἀσκὸν ἔχοντα, *Quæ ad utrem pertinent, That which belongs to the bladder*, as Pauſanias tells us; and it is very evident, that it is this oracle which Plutarch quotes in this place.

He

He likewiſe coined money, and ſtamped it with the image of an ox, either in memory of the Marathonian bull, or of Minos's general Taurus, or elſe to put his people in mind to follow huſbandry; and from this coin came the expreſſion ſo frequent among the Greeks, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen. Having alſo made a ſecure acquiſition of the country about Megara to the territory of Athens, he * erected that famous pillar in the iſthmus of Peloponneſus, and made an inſcription of two verſes, ſhowing the bounds of the two countries that meet there. On the eaſt ſide the inſcription is thus:

This is not Peloponneſus, but Ionia.

And on the weſt ſide thus:

This is Peloponneſus, not Ionia.

He alſo firſt inſtituted annual games, in emulation of Hercules; being ambitious, that as the Greeks, by that hero's appointment, celebrated the Olympian games to the honour of Jupiter, ſo by his inſtitution they ſhould celebrate the Iſthmian games to the honour of Neptune. For thoſe that were before obſerved there in memory of Melicerta, were performed in the night, and conſiſted rather of religious ceremonies, than of any open ſpectacle or public feaſt. But ſome ſay, that Theſeus inſtituted the Iſthmian games in memory of Sciron, and to expiate his murder, upon account of the nearneſs of kindred which was between them; Sciron being the ſon of Canethus, and Heniocha the daughter of Pittheus: though others write, that Sinnis, and not

* It was a cuſtom among the Athenians to mark their limits by pillars. This was erected by the common conſent of the Ionians and Peloponneſians, to put an end to the diſputes between them about their boundaries, and continued to the reign of Codrus, during which it was demoliſhed by the Heraclidæ, who had made themſelves maſters of the territory of Megara, which thereby paſſed from the Ionians to the Dorians. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Sciron, was their ſon, and that to his honour, and not to the other's, theſe games were ordained by Theſeus. And Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnaſſus write, that at the ſame time he made an agreement with the Corinthians, that they ſhould allow them who came from Athens to the celebration of the Iſthmian games, as much ſpace to behold the ſpectacle in as the ſail of the public ſhip * that brought them thither, ſtretched to its full extent, could cover; and that in the firſt and moſt honourable place.

Philochorus and ſome others write, that his voyage into the Euxine ſea was undertaken in company with Hercules, to whom he offered his ſervice in the war againſt the Amazons †, and that Antiope was given him for the reward of his valour. But the greater number, among whom are Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodorus, write ‡, that he made this voyage many years after Hercules, with a navy under his own command, and took the Amazon priſoner: and indeed this ſeems to come neareſt the truth; for we do not read that any other of all thoſe who accompanied him in this expedition took any Amazon priſoner. Bion writes, that he ſtole her away by deceit, and fled; for the Amazons, he ſays, being naturally lovers of men, were ſo far from flying from Theſeus when he touched upon

* In the original it is, *the ſhip called Theoris.* The perſons who were ſent from Athens to conſult the oracle, or to aſſiſt in the performance of certain religious ceremonies at the public feſtivals of Greece, were called *Theori*; and the ſhip which carried them, *Theoris.*

† There is nothing more fabulous than the hiſtory of the Amazons. Strabo has very juſtly remarked, that of all Alexander's hiſtorians, they who have had the greateſt regard for the truth, ſuch as Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, have not ſo much as touched upon that ſubject. We need but conſider the names of theſe Amazons, to be aſſured that their whole ſtory is fiction. Hippolyta, Otrera, Lampeto, Penthefilea, Menalippe, and Antiope, are all of them Greek names, and how ſhould the Scythians come by them?

‡ Herodorus was a native of Pontus. He wrote the hiſtory of Hercules, the ſeventeenth book of which is quoted by Athenæus.

their

their coaſts, that they entertained him with great civility, and ſent him preſents to his ſhip; but he having invited Antiope, who brought them, to come aboard, immediately ſet ſail and carried her away. One Menecrates alſo, who wrote the hiſtory of Nicæa in Bithynia, adds, that Theſeus having Antiope aboard his veſſel, cruiſed for ſome time about thoſe coaſts; and that there were in the ſame ſhip three young men of Athens that accompanied him in this voyage, all brothers, whoſe names were *Euneus*, *Thoas*, and *Soloon*. The laſt of theſe fell deſperately in love with Antiope, but concealed it with all poſſible care; only to one of his moſt intimate acquaintance he revealed the ſecret, and employed him to diſcover his paſſion to Antiope; ſhe rejected his pretences with an abſolute denial, yet behaved to him with great civility, and very prudently made no complaint to Theſeus: but Soloon, urged by deſpair, leaped into a river, and drowned himſelf. As ſoon as Theſeus was acquainted with his death, and his unhappy love that was the cauſe of it, he was extremely concerned, and in the height of his grief, an oracle which he had formerly received at Delphi came into his mind; for he had been commanded by the prieſteſs of Apollo, that where-ever in his travels he was moſt ſorrowful, and under the greateſt affliction, he ſhould build a city there, and leave ſome of his followers to be governors of the place. Upon this account he built a city there, which he called from the name of Apollo, *Pythopolis*; and in honour of the unfortunate youth, he named the river that runs by it *Soloon*, and left the two ſurviving brothers intruſted with the care of the government and laws, joining with them Hermus, one of the nobility of Athens, from whom a certain place in the city is by the inhabitants of Pythopolis called *the houſe of Hermus*; though, by an error in the accent of the word, they have

have falſely taken it for *the houſe of Hermes* *, or *Mercury*, and the honour that was deſigned for the hero, they have transferred to the god. This was the ground of the war with the Amazons, which appears to have been no ſlight or womaniſh enterpriſe; for it is impoſſible they ſhould have placed their camp in the heart of the city †, and joined battle cloſe by the Pnyx ‡, and the Muſeum ‖, unleſs they had firſt conquered the country round about, and then advanced boldly to the city. That they took ſo long a journey by land, and paſſed over the Cimmerian Boſphorus when it was frozen, as Hellanicus writes, is difficult to be believed. That they encamped in the city, perhaps may be ſufficiently † confirmed by the names which the places thereabout yet retain and the monuments of thoſe who fell in the battle.

Both armies being in ſight, there was a long pauſe and doubt on each ſide which ſhould give the firſt onſet: at laſt, Theſeus having ſacrificed to Fear ††, in

* This is not to be underſtood but by ſuch as are ſkilled in the Greek. In that language Ἑρμοῦ οἰκία, the word Ἑρμοῦ having an acute accent on the firſt ſyllable, ſignifies *the houſe of Hermus*; but Ἑρμοῦ οἰκία with a circumflex on the laſt, ſignifies *the houſe of Hermes*, or *Mercury*.

† Which indeed they never did. Plutarch in proof of this expedition of the Amazons makes uſe of an inconcluſive argument. For it is more rational to ſay with Strabo, Is it credible that an army, or rather a nation of women ſhould ſubſiſt without men? nay not only ſubſiſt, but undertake expeditions, and that not only into their neighbouring kingdoms, but as far as Ionia, and even into Attica? They who can believe this, muſt allow that in thoſe days the women were changed into men, and the men metamorphoſed into women. However the Athenians were ſo highly pleaſed with this fable, that they employed Micon to paint this battle of Theſeus and the Amazons in the porch called *Poicileum*.

‡ The Pnyx was a place near the citadel, in which the aſſemblies of the people were ſometimes held.

‖ The Muſeum was a little hill near the citadel. It took its name, as Pauſanias tells us, from the poet Muſeus who was buried there.

† As if there had been no other way to come by thoſe names but by the Amazons.

†† The Heathens deified all the paſſions, and ſacrificed to them to

in obedience to the command of an oracle he had received, began the attack. This battle happened in the month Boëdromion [September], the day on which the Athenians even to this time keep the feaſt called *Boëdromia*. Clidemus, who is very circumſtantial in his account of this affair, writes, that the left wing of the Amazons moved towards the place which is yet called *Amazonium*, and that on the right they came as far as the Pnyx near Chryſa: that with this wing the Athenians engaged, falling in upon the Amazons from the Muſeum; and that the graves of thoſe that were ſlain, are to be ſeen in the ſtreet that leads to the gate called *Piraïca*, by the chapel of Chalcodon: that here the Athenians were routed, and fled from the women as far as to the temple of the Furies: but that freſh ſupplies coming in from Palladium, Ardettus, and Lyceum, they charged their right wing, and beat them back into their tents; in which action a great number of the Amazons were ſlain: that at length, after four months, a peace was concluded between them by the mediation of Hippolyta, (for ſo this hiſtorian calls the Amazon whom Theſeus married, and not Antiope); though others write that ſhe was ſlain with a dart by Molpadia, fighting by Theſeus's ſide, and that the pillar which ſtands by the temple of the Olympian Earth * was erected to her honour. Nor is it to be wondered

to avert the ill effects they dreaded from them. Nay further they ſacrificed to every thing they thought might be hurtful, for inſtance to the fever, to the winds and rivers. Theſeus ſacrificed to Fear, that his troops might not be ſeized with it. Alexander performed the ſame ſacrifice before the battle of Arbela, as will be ſeen in his life.

* The Olympian Earth ſignifies the moon. Plutarch, in his treatiſe concerning the ceſſation of oracles, aſſerts, that there is an order of beings called Dæmons, of a middle rank between the gods and mankind, whoſe nature is not ſo variable as that of men, nor yet ſo immutable as that of the gods; that the ſun and ſtars may be conſidered as emblems of the divine nature; lightning, meteors, and comets, of the human; and that the moon being neither ſo permanent as the former, nor ſo inconſtant and irregular as the latter, may repreſent the nature of

wondered at that the hiſtory of things ſo very ancient, ſhould be ſo various and uncertain. For it is further ſaid, that thoſe of the Amazons that were wounded, were privately ſent away by Antiope to Chalcis, where many by her care recovered, but thoſe that died were buried in the place that is to this time called *Amazonium*. That this war was ended by a mutual league, is evident both from the name of the place adjoining to the temple of Theſeus, called, from the ſolemn oath there taken, *Horcomoſium*, and alſo from the ancient ſacrifice which is celebrated to the Amazons, the day before the feaſt of Theſeus. The people of Megara pretend alſo to ſhew among them a place in the figure of a lozenge, where the Amazons were buried, in the paſſage from the market-place to the place called *Rhus*. It is ſaid likewiſe, that others of them were ſlain about Chæronea, and buried near a rivulet, formerly called *Thermodon*, but now *Hæmon*, of which I have formerly wrote in the life of Demoſthenes. It appears further, that the paſſage of the Amazons through Theſſaly was not without oppoſition, for there are yet to be ſeen many of their ſepulchres near Scotuſſea and Cynos-Cephalæ. Theſe are the moſt memorable circumſtances concerning the Amazons. For the account which the ancient author of a poem called *Theſeis*, gives us of this invaſion, that Antiope, to revenge herſelf upon Theſeus, for quitting her and marrying Phædra, came down upon the city with her train of Amazons, and that they were ſlain by Hercules, is manifeſtly nothing elſe but fable, and the invention of a poet. It is true indeed that Theſeus married Phædra; but that was after the death of Antiope, by whom he had a ſon called Hippolytus, or, as Pindar writes,

of thoſe intermediate beings; and that as it thus partakes both of celeſtial and terreſtrial qualities, it had been called by ſome a *Terreſtrial ſtar*, and by others an *Olympian* or *Celeſtial earth*.

Demophoon.

* Demophoon. As to the calamities which befel Phædra and Hippolytus, ſince none of the hiſtorians have contradicted the tragic poets that have written of them, we muſt ſuppoſe they happened, as all the poets have deſcribed them. There are alſo accounts of ſome other marriages of Theſeus, of which neither the beginnings were honourable, nor the events fortunate, and which were never repreſented in the Grecian plays. For he is ſaid to have forced Anaxo, the Trœzenian; and after he had ſlain Sinnis and Cercyon, to have raviſhed their daughters; to have married Peribœa the mother of Ajax, and then Pherebœa, and then Iope the daughter of Iphicles. Further he is accuſed for deſerting Ariadne, as is before related, being in love with Ægle the daughter of Panopeus, an action neither juſt nor honourable; and laſtly, for the rape of Helen, which filled all Attica with war and blood, and was in the end the occaſion of his baniſhment and death, as ſhall hereafter be related.

Herodotus is of opinion, that though there were many famous expeditions undertaken by the braveſt men of his time, yet Theſeus never accompanied any of them, but once, when he joined with the Lapithæ in their war againſt the Centaurs: though others ſay that he attended Jaſon to Colchos, and aſſiſted Meleager to kill the Calydonian boar; and that hence came the proverb, *Not without Theſeus*. However it is allowed, that Theſeus, without any aſſiſtance, did himſelf perform many great exploits; and that from the high eſteem the world ſet upon his valour, it grew into a proverb, *This is another Hercules*. He was alſo very ſerviceable to Adraſtus, in recovering the bodies of thoſe that were ſlain before Thebes, but not, as † Euripides in his tragedy repreſents

* Pindar is miſtaken. Demophoon was the ſon of Theſeus by Phædra, and Hippolytus his ſon by the Amazon.

† And yet Iſocrates, who was contemporary with Euripides, though much younger than him, ſays

repreſents him, by beating the Thebans in battle, but by perſuaſion, and mutual agreement, for ſo the greater part of hiſtorians write. Nay, Philochorus adds further, that this was the firſt treaty that ever was made for the recovering and burying the bodies of the dead; though the hiſtory * of Hercules ſays, that he was the firſt who ever gave leave to his enemies to carry off the bodies of their ſlain. The burying-places of the common ſoldiers are yet to be ſeen at Eleutheræ, and thoſe of the commanders at Eleuſis, where Theſeus allotted them a place for their interment, to oblige Adraſtus. And Æſchylus in his tragedy called the *Eleuſinians*, where Theſeus himſelf is brought in relating the ſtory as it is here told, directly contradicts what Euripides writes on this ſubject, in his play called *The Suppliants*.

The friendſhip between Theſeus and Peirithous, is ſaid to have been thus begun. The fame of the ſtrength and valour of Theſeus was ſo great, that Peirithous was deſirous to make trial himſelf of what he had heard ſo much celebrated. To this end he ſeized a herd of oxen which belonged to Theſeus, and was driving them away from Marathon, when news was brought, that Theſeus purſued him in arms: upon which he turned back to meet him. But as ſoon as they had viewed one another, each ſo admired the other's gracefulneſs, beauty, and courage, that they laid aſide all thoughts of fighting; and Peirithous firſt ſtretching out his hand to Theſeus, bade him be judge in this caſe himſelf, and

ſays the ſame thing. It is true that in another place he ſays that Theſeus ſent ambaſſadors to Eteocles; but Lyſias, who lived at the ſame time, reconciles this difference, by ſaying that Theſeus indeed at firſt ſent ambaſſadors, but obtaining nothing that way, he extorted that by force, which they would not grant by fair means.

* Plutarch himſelf wrote the life of Hercules, and probably that is the hiſtory which he here mentions; for the expreſſions in the original are the ſame which he commonly uſes when he refers to his own works.

promiſed

promiſed to give whatever ſatisfaction he ſhould demand. But Theſeus not only forgave him all the damages he had ſuſtained, but intreated him to be his friend and companion in arms; and immediately they ſwore an inviolable friendſhip to each other. After this Peirithous, upon his marriage with Deidamia *, invited Theſeus to come and ſee his country, and † converſe with the Lapithæ. He had at the ſame time invited the Centaurs to the feaſt, who, growing hot with wine, began to be very inſolent and lewd, and offered violence to the women; which ſo enraged the Lapithæ, that they took immediate revenge, killing many of them upon the ſpot: and afterwards having overcome them in battle, drove the whole race of them out of their country, with the aſſiſtance of Theſeus. But Herodorus gives a different relation of theſe things. He ſays that Theſeus came not to the aſſiſtance of the Lapithæ till the war was already begun; and that it was in this journey that he had the firſt ſight of Hercules, having made it his buſineſs to find him out at Trachin, where he had choſen to reſt himſelf after all his wanderings and labours; and that this interview was attended with extreme civility, reſpect and admiration of each other. Yet it is more credible what other hiſtorians write, that there were before frequent interviews between them, and that it was by the means of Theſeus that ‡ Hercules was initiated

* All other writers call her *Hippodamia*, except Propertius, who calls her *Iſchomacha*.

† The Lapithæ were men of great valour in Theſſaly, and are called *heroes* by Homer. They are ſaid to have been the firſt inventors of horſemanſhip.

‡ Before any perſon was initiated in the grand myſteries of the Eleuſinian Ceres, he was firſt to be purified in public; and this purification was performed in the leſſer myſteries, which were celebrated in a place called *Agræ* near the river Iliſſus. There they ſacrificed to Jupiter a ſow big with young; they ſtretched the ſkin on the ground, and cauſed the perſon that was to be purified to kneel upon it, and waſhed him with ſea-water, in which they had mingled ſalt, laurel, and barley; after this they made him paſs through the fire, and crowned him with a chaplet of flowers.

tiated into the myſteries of the goddeſs Ceres, having before his initiation been firſt purified, upon account of ſeveral raſh actions of his former life.

Theſeus was now fifty years old, as Hellanicus reports, when he was guilty of the rape of Helen; an action very unſuitable to his age. Wherefore ſome writers, to clear him from one of the greateſt crimes that is laid to his charge, ſay, that he did not ſteal away Helen himſelf, but that Idas and Lynceus were the raviſhers, who committed her to his charge, and that therefore he refuſed to reſtore her at the demand of Caſtor and Pollux. Others ſay that he received her from her own father Tyndarus, who ſent her to be kept by him, for fear of Enarſphorus the ſon of Hippocoon, who would have carried her away by force when ſhe was yet a child. But the moſt probable account, and that which has moſt authorities on its ſide, is this. Theſeus and Peirithous went both together to Sparta, and having ſeized the young lady, as ſhe was dancing in the temple of Diana Orthia, fled away with her. There were preſently men in arms ſent after the raviſhers, but they purſued them no further than to Tegea; and Theſeus and Peirithous being now out of danger, having eſcaped from Pe-

He was to prepare himſelf for this ceremony by faſting, and a vow of the ſtricteſt chaſtity, which he was to obſerve as long as he lived. After this it was at leaſt a year before he could be admitted to the grand myſteries, where he had read to him the ritual of the ceremonies to be obſerved on that occaſion, and nothing was concealed from him but a few things, which the prieſts only had a liberty of ſeeing. After his admiſſion he never left off the habit he wore the day of his initiation till it was worn to rags: then he conſecrated it to Ceres and Proſerpine, or kept it to make baby-cloaths. This initiation was an engagement to a life thoroughly religious; and they who had been thus initiated, verily believed that Ceres and Proſerpine had a particular care of them, and were their immediate directors; that they ſhould be happy as long as they lived, and that when they came to die, they ſhould have the moſt eminent places in the realms below. If any one has a mind to know more of this matter, let him read Meurſius, who has written a treatiſe upon this ſubject.

loponneſus,

ſoponneſus, made an agreement, that he to whom the lot ſhould fall, ſhould have Helen to his wife, but ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt his friend in procuring another. Upon this compact the lot fell to Theſeus, who took the young lady, not being yet marriageable, and conveyed her to Aphidnæ; and placing his own mother with her, committed them to Aphidnus one of his friends, charging him to keep them ſo ſecretly, that none might know where they were. After this, to return the ſame ſervice to his friend Peirithous, he accompanied him in his journey to Epirus, in order to ſteal away the daughter of Aidoneus king of the Moloſſians. This king named his wife *Proſerpina*, and his daughter *Corè*, and a great dog which he kept, *Cerberus*, with whom he ordered all that came as ſuitors to his daughter to fight, and promiſed her to him that ſhould overcome the beaſt. But having been informed, that the deſign of Peirithous and his companion was not to court his daughter, but to force her away, he cauſed them both to be ſeized, and threw Peirithous to be torn in pieces by his dog, and put Theſeus in priſon.

About this time, Meneſtheus, the ſon of Peteus, grandſon of Orneus, and great-grandſon of Erectheus, the firſt man that is recorded to have affected popularity, and ingratiated himſelf with the multitude, by public harangues, ſtirred up and exaſperated the moſt eminent men of the city, who had long borne a ſecret grudge to Theſeus, becauſe they imagined that he had taken from them their ſeveral principalities with this view, that having pent them all up in one city, he might uſe them as his ſubjects and ſlaves. He alſo put the populace into

* Plutarch here differs from moſt authors, who generally make Proſerpina and Corè the ſame perſon, daughter of Aidoneus or Pluto; and his wife, or the mother of Proſerpina, they call *Ceres*. I have read ſomewhere that the eldeſt daughters of the kings of Epire were called *Corè*, as the daughters of Spain and Portugal are called *Infantas*.

no ſmall commotion, by reproaching them for ſuffering themſelves to be deluded with a mere dream of liberty, while in reality they were deprived not only of their freedom, but of their countries and religious rites, and inſtead of being ruled by many good kings of their own, had given themſelves up to be lorded over by a new-comer and a ſtranger. Whilſt he was thus buſied in infecting the minds of the citizens, the war that Caſtor and Pollux made upon the Athenians came very opportunely to further the ſedition he had been promoting; and ſome ſay that it was entirely by his perſuaſion that they invaded the city. At their firſt approach they committed no acts of hoſtility, but peaceably demanded their ſiſter Helen; but the Athenians anſwering, that they neither had her among them, nor knew where ſhe was diſpoſed of, they prepared to aſſault the city. But Academus, having by ſome means found out the place of her reſidence, diſcovered to them that ſhe was ſecretly kept at Aphidnæ: for which reaſon he was both extremely honoured during his life by the ſons of Tyndarus; and the Lacedæmonians, when in after-times they made ſeveral incurſions into Attica, and deſtroyed all the country round about, ſpared the academy for his ſake. But Dicæarchus writes, that there were two Arcadians in the army of Caſtor and Pollux, the one called *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*; that from the firſt, the place now called *Academia*, was then named *Echedemia*, and that the ward of *Marathon* had its name from the other, who to fulfil a certain oracle willingly offered up himſelf a ſacrifice at the head of the army. As ſoon as they were arrived at Aphidnæ, they firſt overcame their enemies in a ſet battle, and then aſſaulted and took the town. And here, they ſay, Alycus, the ſon of Sciron, was ſlain on the party of Caſtor and Pollux, from whom a place in Megaris, where he was buried, is called *Alycus* to this day. Hereas writes,

that

that it was Theſeus himſelf that killed him; and in proof of it he cites theſe verſes concerning Alycus.

And Alycus on fair Aphidna's plain,
By Theſeus in the cauſe of Helen ſlain.

But it is not at all probable, that Theſeus himſelf was there when both the city and his own mother were taken.

The conqueſt of Aphidnæ threw the whole city of Athens into a great conſternation, and Meneſtheus perſuaded the people to open their gates, and receive Caſtor and Pollux with all manner of civility and friendſhip, telling them, that the ſons of Tyndarus had no enmity to any one but Theſeus, who had firſt injured them, that to all others they would ſhow themſelves kind and beneficent. And their behaviour to the conquered gave credit to what Meneſtheus promiſed; for having made themſelves abſolute maſters of the place, they demanded no more than to be initiated into the ceremonies of the goddeſs Ceres, ſince they were as nearly related to their city as Hercules, who had received the ſame honour. This their deſire they eaſily obtained, and were adopted * by Aphidnus, as Hercules had been by Pylius. They were honoured alſo like Gods, and called by a new name, *Anaces*, either from the ceſſation of the war [*Anoche*], or from the ſingular care they took that none ſhould ſuffer any injury, though there was ſo great an army within the walls of the city; for the phraſe *Anacôs echein* ſignifies to keep and take care of any thing, from whence it is likely that kings were called *Anactes*. Others ſay, that, from the appearance of their ſtar in the heavens, they were thus called; for in the Attic dialect *Anecas* and *Anecathen* ſignify *above*.

Some ſay that Æthra, Theſeus's mother, was

* This adoption was neceſſary in order to their being made citizens of Athens, without which they could not be initiated, all ſtrangers being anciently excluded from theſe myſteries.

here taken priſoner, and carried to Lacedæmon, and from thence went with Helen to Troy, alleging this verſe of Homer to prove that ſhe waited upon Helen.

Æthra of Pittheus born; and Clymene the fair.

Others reject this verſe as none of Homer's, as they do likewiſe the whole fable of Munychus, who, the ſtory ſays, was the ſon of Laodice, whom ſhe bore privately to Demophoon, and who was brought up likewiſe by Æthra at Troy. But Iſter *, in the thirteenth book of his Attic hiſtory, gives us an account of Æthra, different from all the reſt: that after the fight, wherein Achilles and Patroclus overcame Paris in Theſſaly, near the river Sperchius, Hector took and plundered the city of the Trœzenians, and made Æthra priſoner, who had been left there. But this ſeems to be an abſurd and groundleſs tale.

It happened that Hercules paſſing once through the country of the Moloſſians, was entertained in his way by Aidoneus the king, who in diſcourſe accidentally mentioned Theſeus and Peirithous, with what deſign they had come into his dominions, and in what manner he had puniſhed them. Hercules was extremely concerned for the inglorious death of the one, and the miſerable condition of the other. As for Peirithous, he thought it vain to expoſtulate with the king concerning his death. But Theſeus being yet kept in priſon, he begged to have him releaſed for his ſake, and obtained that favour from the king. Theſeus being thus ſet at liberty returned to Athens, where his party was not yet wholly ſuppreſſed; and all thoſe portions of land which the city had ſet apart for himſelf, he dedicated to Hercules, changing their names from *Theſea* to

* He was a diſciple of Callimachus. Beſides the Attic hiſtory here quoted, he is mentioned by Plutarch in the life of Alexander, as having wrote an account of that prince.

Heraclea,

Heraclea, four only excepted, as Philochorus writes. And now deſigning to preſide in the commonwealth, and manage the ſtate as before, he ſoon found himſelf encompaſſed with faction and ſedition: for he diſcovered that thoſe who had long hated him, now added to their hatred of his perſon a contempt of his authority; and ſaw the minds of the people ſo generally corrupted, that, inſtead of obeying with ſilence and ſubmiſſion, they expected to be flattered and ſoothed into their duty. He attempted to reduce them by force, but was overpowered by the prevalence of the faction. At laſt deſpairing of ſucceſs, he ſent away his children privately into Eubœa, to Elephenor the ſon of Chalcadon; and * he himſelf having ſolemnly curſed the people of Athens, in Gargettus, where there yet remains the place called *Araterion*, or the *place of curſing*, ſailed to Scyrus, where he had a paternal eſtate, and, as he perſuaded himſelf, a great intereſt with the people of the iſland. Lycomedes was then king of Scyrus: Theſeus therefore addreſſed himſelf to him, and deſired to have his lands put into his poſſeſſion, as deſigning to ſettle there; though others ſay, that he came to beg his aſſiſtance againſt the Athenians. But Lycomedes, being † either jealous of the glory of ſo great a man, or deſirous to gratify Meneſtheus, having led him up to the higheſt cliff of the iſland, on pretence of ſhowing him from thence the lands that he deſired, threw him headlong down from the rock, and killed him. According to others, he fell down of himſelf by a ſlip of his foot, as he was walking there after ſupper according to his cuſtom. At that time there was no notice taken, nor were any con-

* The Pagans believed that nothing could prevent the ill effects of a curſe, which was not to be expiated by any victims whatever.

† There are ſome who ſay that Lycomedes had diſcovered Theſeus was forming cabals againſt him, and that he endeavoured to debauch his wife.

cerned

cerned for his death; and Mneſtheus quietly poſſeſſed the kingdom of Athens. Theſeus's ſons were brought up in a private condition, and accompanied Elephenor to the Trojan war; but after the deceaſe of Meneſtheus, who died in the ſame expedition, they returned to Athens, and recovered the kingdom. In ſucceeding ages, there were ſeveral circumſtances that induced the Athenians to honour Theſeus as a demi-god. Among the reſt, in the battle of Marathon, many of the ſoldiers fancied they ſaw an apparition of Theſeus in arms fighting at the head of them, and ruſhing upon the Barbarians. And after the concluſion of the Median wars, the year wherein Phædon was Archon *, the Athenians conſulting the oracle at Delphi, were commanded to collect the bones of Theſeus, and laying them in ſome honourable place, to keep them as ſacred in the city. But it was very difficult to recover theſe relics, or even to find out the place where they lay, by reaſon of the inhoſpi-

* After the death of Codrus the ſeventeenth king of Athens, who gave up his life for the good of his country in the days of Saul, in the year of the world 2880, 1068 years before the birth of our Saviour, the Athenians thought no perſon worthy to ſucceed ſo great a man, and therefore, inſtead of a king, they choſe out of the royal family a perpetual archon. Medon the ſon of Codrus was the firſt that exerciſed that office, and gave his name to the ſucceeding archons, who were all of the ſame family, and from him were called *Medontidæ*. This officer was veſted with ſovereign authority, only he was accountable to the people for his adminiſtration. There were thirteen of thoſe archons during the ſpace of 325 years. After the death of Alcmæon, who was the laſt of the perpetual archons, this charge was not continued to the ſame perſon for any longer than ten years, always however in the ſame family till the death of Eryxias, or, as others ſay, of Tleſias, the ſeventh and laſt of thoſe decennial magiſtrates. For when the family of Codrus, or the Medontidæ, came to fail in him, the Athenians created annual archons, and inſtead of one they choſe nine every year. The firſt of theſe was called *archon* by way of excellence, and the year was denominated from him; the ſecond was called *king*, the third *polemarch*, and the ſix others *theſmothetæ*. This alteration was made the third year of the 24th Olympiad, in the year of the world 3278, and continued down to the reign of the emperor Gallienus, that is, to the year of the world 4210, 260 years after the birth of Chriſt.

table

table and ſavage temper of the people that inhabited the iſland. But afterwards when Cimon took the iſland, as is related in his life, having a great deſire to find out the place where Theſeus was buried, he by chance ſpied an eagle upon a riſing ground pecking the earth with her beak, and tearing it up with her talons. On a ſudden, it came into his mind, as if by ſome divine inſpiration, to dig there, and ſearch for the bones of Theſeus. There was found in that place a coffin of a man of more than ordinary ſize, the braſs head of a lance, and a ſword lying by it, all which he took aboard his galley, and brought with him to Athens. The Athenians greatly tranſported at this, went out to meet and receive the relics of this great man in a ſplendid and pompous proceſſion, and ſacrificed to them as if Theſeus himſelf was returned alive to their city. He lies interred in the middle of the city, near the Gymnaſium: and his tomb is a ſanctuary for ſervants, and all of mean condition, who fly from the perſecution of men in power, in memory, that Theſeus, while he lived, was a protector of the diſtreſſed, and never refuſed the petitions of the afflicted. The chief and moſt ſolemn ſacrifice which they celebrate to him, is kept on the eighth day of Pyanepſion [November], on which day he returned with the Athenian youths from Crete. Beſides which, they ſacrifice to him on the eighth day of every month, either becauſe he returned from Trœzene the eighth day of Hecatombæon [July], as Diodorus the geographer writes, or elſe thinking that number of all others to be moſt proper to him, becauſe he was reputed to be the ſon of Neptune; for they ſacrifice to Neptune on the eighth day of every month; becauſe the number eight being the firſt cube of an even number, and the double of the firſt ſquare, ſeemed to be an emblem of the immoveable power of this God, who has the names of *Aſphalius* and *Gaieochus*, that is, *the eſtabliſher, and ſupporter of the earth.*

THE

THE LIFE OF ROMULUS.

FRom whom, and for what reaſon, the city of Rome obtained that name, ſince ſo illuſtrious among all men, authors are not agreed *. Some are of opinion that the Pelaſgians †, after they had over-run the greater part of the habitable world, and ſubdued many nations, fixed themſelves here, and from their own great ſtrength in war, called the city by the name of *Rome*; this word ſignifying ſtrength in the Greek language. Others ſay, that

* This uncertainty is owing principally to the condition of the firſt inhabitants of Rome, who were a mob of thieves, fugitive ſlaves, and miſerable exiles, all of different countries, and of different languages, and who, inſtead of leaving hiſtories and annals behind them, thought of nothing but pilla g ng their neighbours. There is another reaſon to be aſſigned for this uncertainty; and that is, that the Grecians in thoſe days did not concern themſelves with the tranſactions of Italy. Beſides, there were at that time no authors among the Grecians but in their Aſiatic colonies, and thoſe authors were poets, not hiſtorians. No writers of hiſtory appeared among them till a great while after; and as they had been a long time accuſtomed to fables, they preſerved thoſe fables even in their hiſtories.

† The Pelaſgians were originally of Arcadia; but being expelled from thence, they paſſed into Theſſaly, from whence they drove out the ancient inhabitants. Five generations after they themſelves were driven out of Theſſaly by the Curetes, and Lelagæ, that is, by the Ætolians, and Locrians, and were diſperſed into Epire, Macedonia, Italy, Eubœa, Crete, and Aſia.

after

after the taking of Troy *, ſome few that eſcaped the enemy, fortunately meeting with ſhipping, put to ſea, and being driven upon the coaſts of Tuſcany, came to an anchor near the river Tyber; where, their women being extremely tired and haraſſed by the voyage, it was propoſed by one whoſe name was *Roma*, who on account of her noble birth had great authority amongſt them, to burn the ſhips: which being done, the men at firſt were very much offended at it; but afterwards, of neceſſity, ſettled near the Palatine hill; where ſoon finding that things ſucceeded better than they expected, the country being very good † and the people courteous ‡, among other honours which they paid to Roma, they added this alſo, of calling the city they had built after her name ‖. From this, they ſay, came that cuſtom at Rome for women to ſalute their kinſmen and huſbands with kiſſes, becauſe thoſe women, after they had burnt the ſhips, uſed

* Plutarch has taken this out of Heraclides ſurnamed *Lembus*, who lived at the ſame time with Polybius. This hiſtorian writes, that Æneas embarked on board ſome of Ulyſſes's ſhips, and landed in Italy, where he built a city, and called it *Roma*, which was the name of a Trojan matron, who inſtigated her companions to ſet fire to the ſhips, that ſo they might not be obliged to any more ſea-voyages. It would be an endleſs piece of work to examine into all the fables that have been collected relating to the origin of Rome, and of Romulus. It may be ſufficient to obſerve, that all powerful ſtates have had much the ſame fortune. The accounts of their birth are through length of time become rather fabulous than hiſtorical, men being naturally prone to add to the truth, thereby to make it look more marvellous, and conſequently more agreeable.

† Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus tells us in expreſs terms, that Italy is the beſt country not only in Europe, but in the whole world; to prove which, he makes it appear that it produces, in a greater abundance than any other country whatever, every thing that is neceſſary for health, wealth, or pleaſure.

‡ They had at firſt been very fierce and cruel, offering human ſacrifices to Saturn; but Hercules cauſed them to aboliſh that barbarous cuſtom, and to offer victims that were more acceptable to their deities.

‖ Antiochus Syracuſanus, a very ancient author, who lived an hundred years before Ariſtotle, ſaid that even a long time before the Trojan wars there was a city in Italy called *Roma*.

ſuch

ſuch kind of endearments to pacify the anger of their huſbands. Some ſay, that Roma, from whom this city was ſo called, was the daughter of Italus and Leucaria; others, that ſhe was the daughter of Telephus, the ſon of Hercules; ſome ſay that ſhe was married to Æneas, others that ſhe was married to Aſcanius, Æneas's ſon. According to ſome, Romus, the ſon of Ulyſſes and Circe, built it; others ſay that it was built by Romus, the ſon of Emathion *, whom Diomed ſent from Troy; and others, that it was founded by Romus, King of the Latins, after he had driven out the Tuſcans, who came originally from Theſſaly into Lydia, and from thence into Italy. Nay, thoſe authors, who by the cleareſt reaſons make it appear, that Romulus gave name to that city, differ concerning his birth and family. For ſome write, that he was the ſon of Æneas and Dexithea, daughter of Phorbas, and that in his infancy he was carried into Italy with his brother Remus; that all the ſhips were caſt away by the overflowing of the river, except that in which the children were; that this being ſafely landed on a level bank of the river, they were both unexpectedly ſaved, and from them the place was called *Rome*. Some ſay that Roma, daughter of that Trojan lady who was married to Latinus, Telemachus's ſon, was mother to Romulus; others, that Æmilia, daughter of Æneas and Lavinia, had him by the god Mars. The accounts which ſome others give of his original are altogether fabulous. One of them is this. Tarchetius, king of Alba, a wicked and cruel prince, ſaw in his own houſe a ſtrange viſion †, like the figure of the

* Dionyſius of Chalcis, who wrote five books concerning the original of cities, ſaid that this Romus was held by ſome to have been the ſon of Aſcanius, and by others the ſon of Emathion.

† The ſame ſtory is told of Oeriſia; and it is ſaid that Servius Tullius was the fruit of that apparition. Such ſort of viſions were very frequent in thoſe times of ignorance and ſimplicity.

god

god Priapus, which roſe out of a chimney-hearth, and ſtaid there for many days. There was an oracle of Tethys * in Tuſcany, which, upon being conſulted, anſwered that ſome young virgin ſhould accept of the embraces of the apparition, and that ſhe ſhould have a ſon eminent for valour, good fortune, and ſtrength of body. Tarchetius told the prophecy to one of his own daughters, and commanded her to entertain the lover; but ſhe looking on this as an indignity, put her woman on the execution of the order. Tarchetius greatly incenſed at hearing this, impriſoned the offenders, purpoſing to put them both to death; but being deterred from the murder by the goddeſs Veſta in a dream, he injoined them for their puniſhment the working a piece of cloth in their priſon, which when they finiſhed, they ſhould be ſuffered to marry; but whatever they worked by day, Tarchetius commanded others to unravel in the night. In the mean time the woman was delivered of two boys, whom Tarchetius gave into the hands of one Teratius, with ſtrict command to deſtroy them; but he expoſed them by a river-ſide, where a wolf conſtantly came and ſuckled them, and birds of all ſorts brought little morſels of food, which they put into their mouths; till a herdſman ſpying them, was at firſt ſtrangely ſurpriſed, but venturing to draw nearer, took the children up in his arms. This was the manner of their preſervation, and thus they grew up till they ſet upon Tarchetius, and overcame him. Theſe particulars Promathion tells us, in his hiſtory of Italy. But the principal parts of that account which obtains moſt credit, and has

* I never met elſewhere with any oracles of Tethys, which makes me think that this paſſage has been corrupted, or that Plutarch himſelf was miſtaken in the name. The oracle meant in this place was Themis, and not Tethys. She was the ſame with her whom the Romans called *Carmenta*, by reaſon of the oracles ſhe delivered, and was the mother of Evander.

the moſt vouchers, were firſt publiſhed among the Greeks by Diocles of Peparethus, whom Fabius Pictor has for the moſt part followed: not but that there are ſome other different relations of the matter. However this account, in ſhort, is as follows. The kings of Alba deſcending lineally from Æneas, the ſucceſſion devolved at length upon two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. Amulius divided the inheritance into two ſhares, reckoning the treaſury and the gold which was brought from Troy, as an equivalent to the kingdom. Numitor choſe the kingdom; but Amulius, by means of the money, being more powerful than Numitor, he both with a great deal of eaſe took his kingdom from him, and withal fearing leſt his daughter might have children, made her a prieſteſs of Veſta, which obliged her for ever to live a ſingle life. This lady ſome call *Ilia*, others *Rhea*, and others *Sylvia*. However, not long after, ſhe was, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the Veſtals, diſcovered to be with child, and would have ſuffered the moſt cruel puniſhment, had not Antho, the king's daughter, interceded with her father for her. Nevertheleſs ſhe was confined, and debarred all company, that ſhe might not be delivered without Amulius's knowledge. In time ſhe brought forth two boys, extraordinary both in ſize and beauty: whereupon Amulius, becoming yet more fearful, commanded a ſervant to deſtroy them. This man ſome call *Fauſtulus*; others ſay Fauſtulus was the man who brought them up. The ſervant putting the children into a ſmall trough, went towards the river with a deſign to caſt them in; but ſeeing the waters much ſwelled and very rough, and being afraid to go near, he dropped the children not far from the bank, and went away. The river overflowing, the flood at laſt bore up the trough, and gently wafting it, landed them on a ſoft and even piece of ground: the place is now called *Cermanum*, formerly *Germanum*, probably

probably becauſe brothers are called *germani*. Near this place grew a wild fig-tree, which they called *Ruminalis*, either from Romulus, as it is vulgarly thought, or from *Ruminating*, becauſe cattle did uſually in the heat of the day ſeek cover under it, and there chew the cud; or rather from the ſuckling of theſe children there; for the ancients called the dug or teat of any creature *Ruma*, and the tutelar goddeſs of all young children they ſtill call *Rumilia*, in ſacrificing to whom they uſe no wine, but their libations are made with milk. While the infants lay here, hiſtory tells us, a ſhe-wolf ſuckled them, and a wood-pecker conſtantly fed and watched them. Theſe creatures are eſteemed ſacred to the god Mars; and as for the wood-pecker, the Latins particularly worſhip and honour it. From hence credit was more eaſily given to what the mother of the children pretended, that ſhe was with child by the god Mars; though it is ſaid that ſhe was impoſed upon by Amulius himſelf, who came to her in armour and raviſhed her.

Others think the firſt riſe of this fable came from the childrens nurſe, purely upon the ambiguity of a word; for the Latins not only called wolves *lupæ*, but alſo lewd women; and ſuch a one was Acca Larentia, the wife of Fauſtulus, who nurſed theſe children. To her the Romans continue ſtill to perform ſacrifices; the prieſt of Mars every April offering libations at her tomb; and this feaſt they call *Larentia* *. They honour alſo another Larentia upon the following account.

The keeper of Hercules's temple having, it ſeems, little elſe to do, propoſed to his deity a game at dice, making a bargain, that if he himſelf won, he would

* Rather *Larentalia*, or *Larentinalia*. There were two feſtivals of this name, one on the thirtieth of April, the other on the twenty-third of December. Ovid, whoſe teſtimony in this caſe is more to be depended on than Plutarch's, ſays, that the feſtival in December was in honour of Romulus's nurſe.

have ſomething valuable of the god; but if he was beaten, he would ſpread the god a noble table, and procure beſides a fair lady to lie with him. Upon theſe terms reckoning firſt the chances that were thrown for the god, and then for himſelf, he found plainly he had loſt. Being willing to ſhow himſelf a fair gameſter, and thinking it honeſt to ſtick to the propoſals he made himſelf, he both provided the deity a good ſupper, and hiring Larentia, who was a very beautiful woman, though not publicly known, treated her in the temple, where he had alſo prepared a bed, and after ſupper locked her in, as if the god were really to enjoy her. It is ſaid, that Hercules having paſſed the night with the lady, commanded her in the morning to walk the ſtreets, and whatever man ſhe met firſt, to ſalute him, and make him her friend. The man ſhe met was named *Tarrutius*; he was far advanced in years and very rich, had no children, nor had ever been married. This man loved Larentia ſo well, that at his death he left her heir to his whole eſtate, moſt of which ſhe afterwards bequeathed to the people. She now became famous, and was eſteemed the miſtreſs of a god, when on a ſudden ſhe diſappeared near the place where the firſt Larentia lay buried; which is now called *Velabrum*, becauſe, the river frequently overflowing, they went over in ferry-boats at this place to the Forum, which manner of paſſage the Latins call *velatura*. Others derive the name from *velum*, a veil, becauſe the exhibiters of public ſhows, generally making their proceſſion from the Forum to the Circus Maximus, always hung the ſpace between with veils, beginning at this place. Upon theſe accounts is the ſecond Larentia ſo highly honoured at Rome.

In the mean time Fauſtulus, Amulius's herdſman, educated the children privately; but, as ſome ſay, and with the greateſt likelihood, Numitor knew it from the firſt, and privately ſupplied the expenſes of

of their maintenance. It is alſo ſaid that they were ſent to Gabii, and well inſtructed in letters, and all other accompliſhments ſuitable to their birth and quality. The reaſon of their names *Romulus* and *Remus* was, as hiſtorians tell us, becauſe they were ſeen ſucking the wolf. In their very infancy, the beauty and gracefulneſs of their perſons diſcovered the natural greatneſs of their minds; and as they grew up, they both were remarkable for ſtrength and bravery, attempting all enterpriſes that ſeemed hazardous, and ſhewing an undaunted courage. But Romulus ſeemed rather to excel in wiſdom, and to have an underſtanding more adapted to political affairs; and in his tranſactions with his neighbours, whether relating to hunting or the care of their cattle, he made it evident to all, that he was born rather to rule than to be a ſubject. To their comrades, nay inferiors, they were affable and courteous; but the king's ſervants and overſeers, whom they did not eſteem to be their ſuperiors in courage, they deſpiſed and ſlighted, nor were they in the leaſt concerned at their menaces, or their anger. They applied themſelves to liberal occupations and ſtudies, and diſdaining ſloth and idleneſs, were conſtantly employed in running, hunting, catching of robbers, and delivering the oppreſſed from injury. Upon this account they became famous.

A quarrel happening betwixt Numitor's and Amulius's herdſmen, and the former having driven away ſome cattle, Romulus and Remus immediately fell upon them, put them to flight, and reſcued the greateſt part of the prey; at which Numitor being highly incenſed, they little regarded it, but took into their company a great number of ſlaves and other needy wretches; and by this ſtep ſeemed to prepare the way for a revolt. It happened, that when Romulus was employing himſelf at a ſacrifice, for he was ſkilled in religious ceremonies and divination, Numitor's herdſmen meeting with Remus, as he

went with a ſmall retinue, fell upon him, and, after ſome blows and wounds on each ſide, took Remus priſoner; who being carried before Numitor, and there accuſed of miſdemeanors, Numitor would not puniſh him himſelf, for fear of offending his brother, who was a paſſionate man, but delivered him into his hands, and deſired juſtice might be done him, as he was his brother, and had been injured by his ſervants, who thought they might do what they pleaſed becauſe he had the ſovereign authority. The Albans likewiſe reſenting the thing, and thinking that Numitor had been diſhonourably uſed, Amulius was induced to deliver Remus up into Numitor's hands, to treat him as he thought fit. He therefore carried him home, and being ſtruck with admiration of the youth's perſon, of his extraordinary ſize and ſtrength, and perceiving in his very countenance the courage and intrepidity of his mind, which remained undaunted and unſhaken in his preſent danger, and hearing that his actions were anſwerable to his appearance, but chiefly, as it ſeemed, being moved by ſome divine influence which directed the beginnings of thoſe great events that were to follow, he by a fortunate conjecture gueſſed the truth; and having encouraged him by gentle words, and a kind aſpect, he aſked him who he was, and what were the circumſtances of his birth? He, without fear, anſwered thus: *I will hide nothing from you, for you ſeem to be of a more princely temper than Amulius, becauſe you hear and examine before you puniſh; but he condemns before the cauſe is heard. Firſt then, there are two of us, and we are twins; we thought ourſelves the ſons of Fauſtulus and Larentia, the king's ſervants; but ſince we have been accuſed and ſlandered before you, and our lives are brought into queſtion, we hear great things of ourſelves, the truth whereof will appear from the iſſue of my preſent danger. Our birth is ſaid to have been ſecret, our ſupport in our infancy miraculous; for we were nouriſhed by the birds and beaſts, to whom we were*

were expoſed a prey; a wolf ſuckled us, and a wood-pecker brought us food, as we lay in a little trough by the ſide of the great river: the trough is now in being, and is preſerved with braſs plates round it, and an inſcription in obſcure characters on it, which may prove hereafter perhaps very uſeleſs tokens to our parents when we are dead. Numitor hearing this, and recollecting the time too, and comparing it with the young man's looks, was confirmed in the agreeable hope which he had conceived, and contrived to ſpeak privately on this ſubject with his daughter, who was ſtill cloſely confined.

Fauſtulus hearing Remus was taken, and delivered up to Numitor, begged Romulus to aſſiſt in his reſcue, informing him then plainly of the particulars of their birth; not but he had before given them ſome hints of it, and told them ſo much as might, if they attended to it, give them no mean thoughts of themſelves. He himſelf, full of concern and fear, took the trough, and ran inſtantly with it to Numitor; but giving a ſuſpicion to ſome of the King's centry at the gate, and being gazed upon by them, and perplexed with their queſtions, he could not but diſcover the trough under his cloak. By chance there was one among them who was preſent at the expoſing of the children, having with others been employed in that office; he ſeeing the trough, and knowing it by its make and inſcription, gueſſed the truth, and without further delay telling the King of it, brought in the man to be examined. In theſe dangerous circumſtances, Fauſtulus was not a little intimidated, and yet they could not force him to confeſs the whole. He owned indeed the children were alive, but tending their flocks far from Alba; that he himſelf was going to carry the trough to Ilia, who had often greatly deſired to ſee it, as an evidence of her childrens ſafety. Amulius behaved on this occaſion as men generally do who are perplexed, and actuated by fear

fear or anger; for he ſent in all haſte a meſſenger, who was an honeſt man, and a friend to Numitor, to inquire of him whether he had heard that the children were alive. The man being come, and finding Numitor already diſpoſed to embrace Remus as his grandſon, confirmed him in this perſuaſion, and adviſed him with all expedition to attempt the recovery of his rights, and offered him his aſſiſtance. Nor indeed was there any time for delay, had they been deſirous of it. For Romulus now drew very near, and many of the citizens, out of fear and hatred of Amulius, revolted to him; beſides, he brought a great force with him, divided into companies conſiſting each of 100 men, every captain carrying a ſmall bundle of graſs and ſhrubs tied to a pole. The Latins call ſuch bundles *manipuli*, and from hence it is that in their armies they call their captains *manipulares*. Remus gaining the citizens within, and Romulus making an attack from without, the tyrant, unable to contrive or execute any ſcheme for his preſervation, in that ſurpriſe and confuſion, was taken and put to death. Moſt of theſe circumſtances are related by Fabius Pictor, and Diocles of Peparethus, who I think is the firſt that writes of the building of Rome. Some indeed ſuſpect them to be entirely fabulous; but they will not appear incredible to ſuch perſons as conſider the wonderful power of fortune, or reflect that the Roman ſtate could hardly have arrived at ſuch a pitch of greatneſs, without ſomething in its original that was miraculous and divine.

Amulius now being dead, and matters quietly ſettled, the two brothers would neither dwell in Alba without governing there, nor were they willing to take the government into their own hands, during the life of their grandfather. Having therefore reſigned the power to him, and ſhown all proper reſpect to their mother, they reſolved to live by themſelves, and build a city in the ſame place where

where they were brought up in their infancy; for this was the moſt ſpecious pretence they could invent for their departure. But perhaps it was neceſſary, as they had ſuch a number of ſlaves and fugitives with them, either to loſe their power by diſperſing their followers, or with them to ſeek an habitation elſewhere: for that the inhabitants of Alba did not think fugitives worthy of being received as citizens among them, plainly appeared from the rape of the Sabines, which was not attempted by the Romans out of a licentious brutal diſpoſition, but deliberately, and by neceſſity, from the want of lawful wives; for they afterwards extremely loved and honoured thoſe whom they had thus forcibly ſeized.

As ſoon as they had laid the firſt foundation of the city, they opened a place of refuge for all fugitives, which they called the temple of the god *Aſylæus* *, where they received and protected all, delivering none back, neither the ſervant to his maſter, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer into the hands of the magiſtrate, ſaying, it was a privileged place, and that they were authoriſed by the oracle to maintain it as ſuch; ſo that the city grew preſently very populous, for they ſay it conſiſted at firſt of no more than a thouſand houſes. But of that hereafter.

Their minds being intent upon building, there aroſe preſently a difference about the place. Romulus built a ſquare of houſes, which he called *Rome*, and would have the city built there; Remus laid out a piece of ground on the Aventine mount, well fortified by nature, which was then from him called *Remonius*, but now *Rignarium* †. Concluding at

* Or the god of refuge; for Aſylæus is not a proper name, but an epithet of the god of that place, which ſome think to have been Apollo. But Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, he could not find to what god or dæmon the temple was dedicated.

† This name is no where elſe to be found. A certain MS. reads *Remoria*, which is probably the true name.

laſt

laſt to decide the conteſt by a divination from the flight of birds, and placing themſelves apart at ſome diſtance, to Remus, they ſay, there appeared ſix vultures, to Romulus double the number; others ſay, Remus did truly ſee his number, and that Romulus feigned his, but when Remus came to him, that then he did indeed ſee twelve. Hence it is that the Romans, in their divinations from birds, chiefly regard the vulture. Though Herodorus of Pontus relates that Hercules was always pleaſed if a vulture appeared to him when he was entering upon any action; for it is a creature the leaſt hurtful of any, pernicious neither to corn, plants, or cattle; it preys only upon carrion, and never kills or hurts any living animal; and as for birds, it touches not them though they are dead, as being of its own ſpecies; whereas eagles, owls, and hawks, prey upon their own kind; and Æſchylus ſays,

What bird is clean that preys on fellow-birds?

Beſides, all other birds we ſee every day, but a vulture is a very rare ſight, and few perſons have ſeen any of their young; ſo that the rarity of them has raiſed an abſurd opinion in ſome, that they come to us from other countries; and ſoothſayers judge every unuſual appearance to be preternatural and the effect of a divine power.

When Remus knew the cheat, he was much diſpleaſed; and as Romulus was caſting up a ditch where he deſigned the foundation of the city-wall, ſome parts of the work he turned to ridicule, others he obſtructed. At laſt, as he was in contempt leaping over the work, ſome ſay, Romulus * himſelf killed him upon the ſpot; others that it was done by Celer, one of his companions. In this quarrel

* Others ſay he was ſlain in the fray, contrary to the order of Romulus, who was ſo afflicted at his death, that he would have laid violent hands on himſelf if he had not been prevented.

alſo

alſo was Fauſtulus ſlain, and Pliſtinus, who being Fauſtulus's brother, it is ſaid, had a ſhare in the education of Romulus. Celer upon this fled inſtantly into Tuſcany, and from him the Romans call all men that are ſwift of foot, or quick in buſineſs, *Celeres*; thus becauſe Quintus Metellus, within a few days after his father's death, entertained the people with a ſhow of gladiators, they admiring his expedition, gave him the name of *Celer*.

Romulus, having buried his brother Remus, together with his two foſter-fathers, on the mount Remonius, began to build his city, having firſt ſent for men * out of Tuſcany, who directed every ceremony which was to be obſerved on the occaſion, in the ſame manner as in the moſt ſacred myſteries. Firſt, they dug a trench round that which is now the Comitium, or hall of juſtice; into this they ſolemnly threw the firſt fruits of all things either good by cuſtom, or neceſſary by nature: and then every man taking a ſmall † quantity of earth of the country from whence he came, they all threw them in promiſcuouſly together. This trench they called *Mundus*, [*the world*], round which as a centre they deſcribed a line which was to mark out the extent of the city. Then the founder fitted to a plough a brazen ploughſhare, and yoking together a bull and a cow, drew himſelf a deep furrow round the

* There had been for a long time before twelve cities in Tuſcany, each of which had its king. Theſe kings were called *Lucumones*; but it is not known what their original was, nor whence they derived the ceremonies they made uſe of. Perhaps they were introduced from Greece by Evander, or the Arcadians. But for my part I think we need ſeek no other original of theſe ceremonies, than their own ſuperſtition and effeminacy; for certainly no people were ever more ſuperſtitious, and ſenſual at the ſame time, than the Tuſcans.

† Ovid does not ſay that it was a handful of the earth each had brought out of his own country, but of the earth he had taken from his neighbours, *et de vicino terra petita ſolo*; which was done to ſignify that Rome ſhould ſubdue the neighbouring nations, and in time become miſtreſs of the world.

bounds;

bounds; the buſineſs of them who followed was to take care that whatever earth was thrown up, ſhould be turned all inwards towards the city, and not to let any clod lie outwards. This line determined the compaſs of the wall, within which was a ſpace which they called *Pomærium*, a contraction of *Poſtmœrium*, becauſe it was behind the wall. Where they deſigned to make a gate, there taking the ploughſhare out of the ground, they lifted up the plough, and left a ſpace for it; for which reaſon they eſteem the whole wall ſacred, except only where the gates are; for had they judged them alſo ſacred, they could not without offence to religion have had a free paſſage for the neceſſaries of human life, and for things in themſelves unclean. As for the day on which they began to build the city, it is univerſally allowed to be the twenty-firſt of April; and that day the Romans annually celebrate as the birthday of their country. At firſt, it is ſaid, they ſacrificed no living creature on this day, thinking it decent to ſolemnize this feaſt purely, and without the ſtain of blood. Nevertheleſs, before the city was ever built, there was a feaſt of the herdſmen and ſhepherds kept on this day, which went by the name of *Palilia*. Now, the Roman and Grecian months have little or no analogy. But it is ſaid that the day on which Romulus began to build was certainly the thirtieth of the month, at which time there was a conjunction of the ſun and moon attended with an eclipſe, which is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that * Antimachus the Teian poet obſerved in the third year of the ſixth Olympiad. Varro the philoſopher, who of all the Romans was moſt learned in hiſtory, had a friend named *Tarutius*, in other reſpects a good philoſopher and mathematician, but more particularly ſkilful in aſtrology. To him Varro propoſed to calculate the day and hour of Romulus's nativity, from the known events of

* This Antimachus was contemporary with Plato.

his

his life, in the ſame manner as geometrical problems are ſolved by analyſis: for it belongs to the ſame ſcience both to foretel a man's life by knowing the time of his birth, and alſo to find out his birth by the knowledge of his life. This taſk Tarutius undertook, and firſt conſidering the various actions and circumſtances of Romulus's life, alſo how long he lived, and in what manner he died, and then comparing all together, he very confidently pronounced, that Romulus * was conceived the firſt year of the ſecond Olympiad, the twenty-third day of the month, which the Egyptians call *Chœac* †, [December], and about the third hour, at which time there was a total eclipſe of the ſun; that he was born the twenty-firſt day of the month Thoth, [September], about ſun-riſing; and that the firſt ſtone of Rome was laid by him the ninth day of the month Pharmuthi, [April], between the ſecond and third hour. For the fortunes of cities, as well as men, they think, have their certain periods of time prefixed, which may be collected and foreknown

* Authors in general agree, that Romulus founded Rome at the age of eighteen, the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympiad, that he reigned thirty-ſeven years, and died when he was fifty-five years old. But if Romulus was eighteen when he laid the foundation of Rome, which was in the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympiad, it follows that he was born the third year of the ſecond, and by conſequence was conceived the year before, that is, the ſecond of the ſame Olympiad, and not the firſt, as Tarutius imagined. This is confirmed by the authority of the aſtronomers, who declare that that year there was a great eclipſe of the ſun on the eleventh of the month Athyr, which anſwers nearly to our November; but that there was none the preceding year, we are aſſured by the ſame aſtronomers. However there are ſome who oppoſe this calculation, by ſhowing how improbable it is that Romulus ſhould have been able to perform all the exploits attributed to him at the age of eighteen. They pretend further that Romulus was conceived five years before, that is, in the year of the world 3172, on the fourth of April, at which time there was an eclipſe of the ſun; and according to this reckoning Romulus was twenty-three years old when he laid the foundation of Rome, and died at ſixty.

† Tarutius reckoned by the Egyptian months, becauſe he followed the aſtrology of the Egyptians.

from the poſitions of the ſtars at their firſt foundation. Theſe and the like relations may perhaps rather pleaſe the reader with their novelty and curioſity, than offend him, becauſe they are fabulous.

The city being now built, Romulus liſted all that were of age to bear arms into military companies, each company conſiſting of 3000 footmen, and 300 horſe *. Theſe companies were called *legions*, becauſe they were the choiceſt and moſt ſelect of the people. The reſt of the multitude he called the *people*. A hundred of the moſt eminent men he choſe for his counſellors; theſe he ſtyled *Patricians*, and the whole body of them, the *ſenate*, which ſignifies a conſiſtory of old men †. The ſenators, ſome ſay, were called *Patricians* ‡, becauſe they were the fathers of legitimate children; others, becauſe they could give a good account who their fathers were ‖, which every one of the rabble that poured into the city at firſt could not do; others derive the name from *Patrocinium*, or patronage, attributing the origin of the word to *Patro*, one of thoſe that came over with Evander, a man remark-

* The people muſt have increaſed prodigiouſly whilſt the city was building, if it be true what Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus reports, that when they firſt ſet about that work, they were not in all above 300 horſe, and 3000 foot.

† According to the cuſtom of the Greeks and the kings of the Eaſt, the princes in thoſe early days did not govern with an abſolute uncontrollable authority, but followed the advice of thoſe that were moſt eminent among their ſubjects for age and experience, as is evident from Homer, and the ſacred hiſtory.

‡ The dignity of Patrician was not confined to the ſenators alone, but was conferred on the whole body of nobles, whom Romulus had ſeparated from the people according to the cuſtom of the Athenians. The ſenators were called *fathers*, and their deſcendents were of courſe Patricians.

‖ In proof of this it is alleged, that whenever the kings cauſed an aſſembly of the Patricians to be proclaimed, the herald called each of them by his own name, and by that of his father; whereas in an aſſembly of the people, they were ſummoned by a ſort of horn; but Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus makes it appear that the horn was uſed not by way of contempt, but for expedition's ſake. How was it poſſible to ſummon every individual of the whole body of a numerous people, by his name and ſurname?

able

able for the protection he afforded to the diſtreſſed. But perhaps the moſt probable conjecture may be, that Romulus gave them this name to ſignify that the rich and great ſhould ſhow a paternal care for thoſe in an humble ſtation, and that the common people ſhould neither fear nor envy the power of their ſuperiors, but love and reſpect them as their fathers, and cheerfully apply to them for their aſſiſtance *. For at this very time all foreigners ſtyle thoſe that ſit in this council, *Lords*; but the Romans, making uſe of a more honourable and leſs invidious name, call them *Patres Conſcripti*; at firſt indeed they ſtyled them ſimply *Patres*, or Fathers, but afterwards, adding another appellation, *Patres Conſcripti* †: and by this honourable title was the ſenate diſtinguiſhed from the populace. He likewiſe made another diſtinction between the nobles and the common people, calling the former *Patrons*, the others *Clients*. And this relation was the ſource of great friendſhip and many mutual good offices; for the Patrons were always their clients counſellors in law-ſuits, their advocates when under proſecution, in fine, their adviſers and directors in all affairs. Theſe in return were firmly attached to their Patrons, and not only ſhowed them all reſpect and deference, but alſo, in caſe of poverty, helped them to give portions to their daughters, and pay their debts; and no law or magiſtrate could oblige a patron to be a witneſs againſt his

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus writes, that Romulus only gave the name, and changed for the better, or reformed a cuſtom that was in being long before his time; for it had been obſerved in Theſſaly, and among the primitive Athenians. But there was a great deal of difference between the Theſſalian and Athenian clients, and the Roman; the firſt were no better than ſlaves, and the nobles behaved more like their tyrants than protectors.

† The title *Conſcripti* is properly applicable only to thoſe ſenators who were added to the original number, either from the Sabins in Romulus's time, or by Tarquinius Priſcus, o by the people upon the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth. But afterwards the whole ſenate were promiſcuouſly ſtyled *Patres*, or *Patres Conſcripti*.

client, or a client againſt his patron *. But in after-times, though all other offices of friendſhip continued ſtill between them, it was thought a baſe and diſhonourable thing, for the great to take money from their inferiors.

In the fourth month after the building of the city, as Fabius writes, they ſeized the Sabin women. And ſome ſay that Romulus being naturally of a martial diſpoſition, and induced beſides by certain oracles to believe it was ordained by fate that Rome muſt receive her nouriſhment and ſtrength from war, and owe her greatneſs to her victorious arms, upon theſe accounts firſt offered violence to the Sabins, and that he took away only thirty virgins, rather to give an occaſion of war, than out of any want of women; but this is not very probable. The action may be more reaſonably aſcribed to the following cauſe. He obſerved that his city was preſently filled by a confluence of foreigners, few of whom had wives, and that the multitude in general, conſiſting of a mixture of mean and obſcure perſons, fell under contempt, and ſeemed not likely to continue long together; and he hoped beſides, by detaining the women as a ſecurity in his hands, to make this injury in ſome meaſure an occaſion of alliance and union with the Sabins. The enter-

* If a client or patron was wanting in any of theſe reſpects, he was deemed a traitor, and ſubject to the puniſhment eſtabliſhed by Romulus at the ſame time, by which he was execrated, or outlawed, and the firſt that met him might murder him with impunity. Theſe mutual offices between the patron and client ſubſiſted for the ſpace of 620 years, till Caius Gracchus was tribune, who raiſed that remarkable ſedition in Rome. It will not be improper to take notice upon this occaſion, that this patronage was exerciſed by the nobles not only towards the people of Rome, but that in proceſs of time ſeveral colonies, cities, nay and entire iſlands made choice of ſome Patrician, and claimed the benefit of his protection; and the ſenate had ſo great regard for this relation and dependence, that it frequently referred the cauſes of cities and communities to their reſpective patrons, before whom they were to plead, and whoſe decrees were confirmed by the ſenate.

priſe

priſe was executed in this manner. Firſt, he gave out, that he had found an altar of a certain god hid under ground; this god they called *Conſus* *, meaning either the god of Counſel, for they ſtill call a conſultation, *Conſilium*, and their chief magiſtrates, *Conſules*, or *Counſellors*, or elſe the Equeſtrian Neptune; for the altar is kept covered in the great † Circus at other times, except at horſe racing, when it is expoſed to public view; and ſome ſay, it was not without reaſon that this god had his altar hid under ground, becauſe all counſels ought to be kept ſecret. Upon diſcovery of this altar, Romulus by proclamation appointed a day for a ſplendid ſacrifice, and for public games; and many flocked thither; he himſelf ſat uppermoſt, amidſt his nobles, clad in purple. As a ſignal for beginning the aſſault, he was to riſe, gather up his robe, and throw it over his body; his men ſtood all ready armed, with their eyes intent upon him; and when the ſignal was given, drawing their ſwords, and falling on with a great ſhout, they ſeized the daughters of the Sabins, but ſuffered the men to eſcape. Some ſay, there were but thirty taken, and that from them the tribes had their names; but Valerius Antias ſays there were 527, and ‡ Juba 683, all

* They were forbidden to divulge the true name of that God; they only diſtinguiſhed him by that name, which was an attribute, and not a proper name.

† That Circus was built afterwards by Ancus Martius for horſe and chariot races, between the mounts Palatine and Aventine. We muſt obſerve, that though Neptune was worſhipped under the name of *Equeſtris*, or *Hippius*, becauſe he firſt found out the means of breaking horſes, yet we are not to believe that this altar belonged to him, for neither the Greeks nor ſtrangers ever interred Neptune's altar; the altar therefore belonged to the god Conſus, and the games were celebrated in honour of Neptune.

‡ This Juba was the ſon of a king of Mauritania, vanquiſhed by Cæſar. He was very young when he was led in triumph to Rome, where his captivity proved very fortunate; for he was well inſtructed, and became an excellent hiſtorian. Auguſtus gave him a great part of Gætulia, with the dominions of Bogud, and cauſed him to marry Cleopatra, Anthony's daughter.

virgins; and this ſerved conſiderably to excuſe Romulus, that they had taken only one married woman named *Herſilia*, and her too unknowingly; for it ſhowed that they did not commit this rape from a lewd and injurious diſpoſition, but merely with a deſign to contract an alliance with their neighbours, and to ſecure it by the firmeſt bonds. This Herſilia, ſome ſay, was married to Hoſtilius, one of the moſt eminent men among the Romans; according to others, Romulus himſelf married her, and had two children by her, a daughter, who being the firſt born, was called *Prima*, and one only ſon, whom, from the great concourſe of citizens to him at that time, he called * *Aollius*, but after-ages, *Abillius*. This is the account given by Zenodotus the Trœzenian, but it is contradicted by many.

Among thoſe who committed this rape, it is ſaid there were ſome of the meaner ſort, who were carrying off a virgin remarkably tall and beautiful, whom when ſome of ſuperior rank that met them, attempted to take from them, they cried out, they were carrying her to Talaſius, a young man of great merit and reputation. Hearing that, they applauded them highly; and ſome turning back, accompanied them with great joy, ſhouting the name of *Talaſius*. Hence the Romans at this very time at their weddings ſing *Talaſius* for their nuptial word, as the Greeks do *Hymenæus*, becauſe, they ſay, this proved a very happy match. But Sextius Sylla, the Carthaginian, a man of great learning and ingenuity, told me, Romulus gave this word as a ſignal when to begin the onſet; every body therefore who made prize of a virgin, cried out, *Talaſius*; and for that reaſon the cuſtom continues now at marriages. But moſt are of opinion, and Juba in particular, that this word was uſed to new-married women, by way of incitement to good houſewifery;

* Aolles in Greek ſignifies *cave, croude!*.

for

for the Greek word *Talaſia* ſignifies *ſpinning*, and the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek *. But if this be not a miſtake, and if the Romans did at that time uſe the word *Talaſia*, as we Grecians do, one might imagine a more probable reaſon of the cuſtom. For when the Sabins, after the war againſt the Romans, were reconciled, conditions were made that the women ſhould not be obliged by their huſbands to any kind of work except † ſpinning; it was cuſtomary therefore ever after at weddings, for thoſe that gave the bride, or led her, or for any one elſe preſent, ſportingly to ſay *Talaſius*, intimating thereby, that ſhe was to be employed in no other labour but ſpinning. It is alſo a cuſtom ſtill obſerved for the bride of herſelf not to go over her huſband's threſhold into the houſe, but to be lifted over it, in memory that the Sabin virgins were carried in by violence, and did not enter freely. Some ſay too, that the cuſtom of parting the bride's hair with the head of a ſpear, was in token that their marriages began at firſt by acts of hoſtility; of which I have ſpoken more fully in my book of queſtions.

* There were ſeveral Grecian colonies ſettled in Italy before the time of Romulus, who preſerved their own language unmixed with the barbarous language of the country. We are told by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, that Romulus and Remus learned the Greek tongue, and were educated in the Grecian manner at Gabii. The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that Romulus many years after this erected a ſtatue of himſelf, with a Greek inſcription, containing an account of his victories. It is therefore very natural to ſuppoſe that Romulus introduced many Greek words into the Latin language: and that this was the caſe, appears from what Plutarch ſays in the life of Numa; *that Greek words were then more mixed with the Latin than in later times.* So that the language of Rome at that time ſeems to have been a mixture of pure Greek, and the language of the country. But afterwards both of them were ſo blended together, that the original form of neither remained; and a language was produced compounded of the two, and different both from one and the other.

† For this reaſon the bride the firſt time ſhe went home to her huſband, carried with her a diſtaff and ſpindle, ſeated herſelf upon a bundle of wool, and dreſſed up the door with wool.

This

This rape was committed the eighteenth day of the month then called *Sextilis*, now *Auguſt*, on which the ſolemnities of the Conſualia are kept.

The Sabins were a numerous and martial people, but lived in ſmall unfortified villages, as thinking it became them, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians *, to be bold and fearleſs. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing themſelves bound by ſuch pledges, and being ſolicitous for their daughters, they ſent ambaſſadors to Romulus, with fair and equitable propoſals, requeſting, that he would return their young women, retract that act of violence, and by juſt and reaſonable methods eſtabliſh a friendly correſpondence and alliance between both nations. Romulus however would not part with the young women, but required the Sabins to conſent that the Romans ſhould keep them. Some of the Sabins deliberated long upon this point; but Acron king of the Ceninenſes, a man of great courage and experience in war, who had all along a jealouſy of Romulus's bold attempts, and conſidering particularly from this exploit upon the women, that he would grow formidable, and indeed inſufferable to all his neighbours, were he not chaſtiſed, was the firſt who began the war, and with a powerful army made head againſt him. Romulus prepared to receive him; but when they came in ſight, they challenged each other to ſingle combat, the two armies ſtanding by under arms without moving. Romulus on this occaſion made a vow, that if he conquered his enemy, he would himſelf dedicate his adverſary's armour to Jupiter; upon which he both overcame

* The hiſtory of the Sabins ſays, that Lycurgus having framed the Lacedæmonian laws, many of the Spartans, offended at the ſeverity of them, quitted their country with an intent to ſettle where they might live under leſs reſtraint; that they firſt ſettled at Pometia, from whence ſeveral of them tranſplanted themſelves into the country of the Sabins, where they were united to the inhabitants, and taught them their cuſtoms.

Acron,

Acron, and after battle was joined, routed his army alſo, and then took his city: but he did no injury to the inhabitants; he only commanded them to demoliſh their houſes, and attend him to * Rome, where they ſhould be admitted to all the privileges of citizens. And indeed there was nothing more advanced the greatneſs of Rome, than that the Romans always united and incorporated among themſelves thoſe whom they conquered. Romulus, that he might perform his vow in the moſt acceptable manner to Jupiter, and withal make the pomp of it delightful to the citizens, cut down a tall oak which he ſaw growing in the camp; this he adorned like a trophy, and faſtened thereon Acron's whole ſuit of armour diſpoſed in its proper form; then he himſelf girding his garment about him, and crowning his head with a laurel garland, his hair gracefully flowing, carried the trophy erected upon his right ſhoulder, and ſo marched on, ſinging ſongs of triumph, his whole ſoldiery in arms following after, and the citizens all receiving him with acclamations of joy and wonder. The pomp of this day was both the original and model of all ſucceeding triumphs. The trophy was dedicated to Jupiter ſurnamed *Feretrius*, from *ferire*, which in Latin is to *ſmite* †; for Romulus prayed that he might ſmite and overthrow his enemy.

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, that he left them at their liberty; they that pleaſed might continue at home, and the reſt might remove to Rome; and that he only ſent amongſt them a colony of 300 Romans; and this indeed was the ſafer way: for thereby he made ſure both of the one and the other, both of thoſe that repaired to Rome, and of them that continued at home; at leaſt in caſe of any ſedition, or mutiny among the latter, they were eaſily to be ſuppreſſed by the colony which was a ſort of garriſon.

† It was not a word at that time uſed in Rome. Jupiter was called *Feretrius* from the Greek word *Pheretrum*, which properly ſignifies a trophy, a trunk of a tree adorned with the arms of the enemy. Livy calls it *Ferculum. Spolia ducis hoſtium cæſi, fabricato ad id apte ferculo, gerens.* It likewiſe ſignifies a chariot.

Theſe

Theſe ſpoils were called *opima ſpolia*, as Varro ſays, from their richneſs, which the word * *opes* ſignifies; though one would more probably conjecture, that they are ſo called from *opus*, which ſignifies an *act*: for when the general of an army with his own hand kills his enemy's general, to him alone is granted the honour of offering the † opima ſpolia, as being the ſole performer of that act of bravery. And on three only of the Roman captains was this honour ever conferred: firſt on Romulus, for killing Acron the Ceninenſian; next on Cornelius Coſſus ‡ for killing Tolumnius the Tuſcan; and laſtly

* The Sabin word *Ops*, by which is meant the earth, from whence fruit of all ſorts is produced, is for that reaſon uſed for riches, and power, and is the true original of *opima ſpolia*, rich ſpoils, as thoſe that are taken from a vanquiſhed general ought to be. See Feſtus upon the words *opima ſpolia*. The etymology taken by Plutarch from the word *opus* muſt be a miſtake, becauſe *opus* was as much unknown to the Romans in thoſe days as was the word *ferire*.

† Plutarch here follows the opinion of thoſe who were miſled by the teſtimony of Livy, which is very uncertain, and which he himſelf contradicts. It is not to be denied but the conſtant opinion of antiquity down to this author was, that the ſpoils called *opima*, were of neceſſity to be taken from the general of the enemies; but it was not a neceſſary condition that he that took them, and killed the general with his own hand, ſhould be commander in chief; for not only a ſubaltern officer, but even a private ſoldier was capable of obtaining thoſe ſpoils, and might make an offering of them to Jupiter. This is Varro's ſentiment. *Marcus Varro ait*, ſays Feſtus, *opima ſpolia eſſe etiam ſi manipularis miles detraxerit, dummodo duci hoſtium.* Marcus Varro tells us, that the ſpoils taken even by a private ſoldier are *opima*, provided they are taken from the general of the enemies. This is manifeſt even from the law of Numa, wherein it is expreſsly ſaid, *cujus auſpicio claſſe procincta opima ſpolia capiuntur.* He under whoſe conduct in a pitched battle the *opima ſpolia* are taken, that is, the general under whoſe command ſome other obtains thoſe ſpoils. And this is farther confirmed by example: for it is certain that this very Cornelius Coſſus, who ſlew Tolumnius the Tuſcan, was no more than a tribune; the general was Æmilius.

‡ Livy giving an account of this action of Coſſus in his fourth book, at firſt followed the opinion of all the ancient authors, and the conſtant tradition of antiquity, by which it is evident that Coſſus obtained thoſe ſpoils in the quality of a tribune; but having afterwards heard

laſtly on Claudius Marcellus, for killing Viridomarus, king of the Gauls. Coſſus and Marcellus made their entries in triumphal * chariots, bearing their trophies themſelves: but Dionyſius is in the wrong to ſay that Romulus made † uſe of a cha-

heard Auguſtus ſay, that in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius which he had cauſed to be rebuilt, he himſelf had read the inſcription wherein Coſſus is called *conſul*, the hiſtorian changed his mind in complaiſance to that prince, and ſaid that Coſſus was conſul, and as ſuch had the command of the army. He did not, or rather would not, perceive that Auguſtus was miſled for want of conſidering that the inſcription was not made whilſt Coſſus was alive, for ſuch inſcriptions were not in uſe at that time, but came into faſhion a long time after; and the authors of them, when they gave Coſſus the quality of conſul, did not thereby intend to ſignify that he was conſul at that very time when he obtained thoſe ſpoils, but that he had been conſul, though it was nine or ten years after that action. There are many examples of ſuch inſcriptions, wherein are expreſſed the offices, which they, for whom they were intended, did not exerciſe till ſome time after they had performed the actions for which they are celebrated in thoſe inſcriptions; and he would create a ſtrange confuſion in hiſtory, that ſhould endeavour to make thoſe actions, and thoſe inſcriptions, to coincide in point of time. Thus by this paſſage in Feſtus, *altera ſpolia quæ conſul Coſſus Cornelius de Tolumnio*, is not to be underſtood *the ſecond ſpoils were thoſe which Cornelius Coſſus obtained when he was conſul*, but *which were obtained by Coſſus, who was afterwards advanced to the dignity of conſul.* We are not therefore to wonder if Plutarch, a ſort of ſtranger to the Roman antiquities, ſhould ſplit upon the ſame rock with Livy, who may be thought to have fallen into the ſnare, not ſo much through ignorance as in complaiſance to Auguſtus, and to confirm him in the opinion he had received, and to which he was willing to adhere, that it was allowed only to a general of an army to make an offering of the *opima ſpolia* to Jupiter. Auguſtus's deſign was to ſuppreſs the tradition which maintained that private perſons had a pretenſion to the ſame honour; to which end he did, perhaps contrary to the dictates of his own reaſon, allege the authority of this inſcription, and drew from it an unwarrantable conſequence.

* How could Coſſus be admitted to enter Rome in triumph, ſince that was an honour reſerved only for the general, and Coſſus was at that time no more than a private tribune? But this is a continuation of the ſame miſtake. The ancient tradition was, that Coſſus followed the chariot of his general Æmilius, and drew upon him the attention of all the people, who were more charmed with the trophy he bore on his ſhoulders, than with the pomp of the other's triumph.

† This aſſertion in Plutarch is inconteſtably proved from the medals, wherein Romulus is deſcribed marching a-foot with his trophy upon his ſhoulders.

riot;

riot; for hiſtory ſays, Tarquinius, Damaratus's ſon, was the firſt of the kings that brought triumphs to this great pomp and grandeur; others ſay, that Publicola was the firſt that rode in a chariot in triumph: however, there are ſtatues of Romulus bearing theſe trophies in triumph yet to be ſeen in Rome, which are all on foot.

After the overthrow of the Ceninenſians, the other Sabins ſtill protracting the time in preparations, the people of Fidena, Cruſtumerium, and Antemna, joined their forces againſt the Romans; but they were likewiſe defeated and ſurrendered up to Romulus their cities to be ſpoiled, their territories to be divided, and themſelves to be tranſplanted to Rome. All the lands which Romulus acquired, he diſtributed among the citizens, except only what belonged to the parents of the ſtolen virgins; for thoſe he left in the poſſeſſion of the former owners. The reſt of the Sabins enraged at this, choſe Tatius for their general, and marched ſtraight againſt Rome. The city was almoſt inacceſſible, having for its fortreſs that which is now the capitol, where a ſtrong guard was placed; and Tarpeius was their captain, not Tarpeia the virgin, as ſome ſay, who would repreſent Romulus as a very weak man. However, this Tarpeia, the captain's daughter, longing for the golden bracelets ſhe ſaw the Sabins wear, betrayed the fort into their hands, and aſked, in reward of her treachery, all they wore on their left arms. Tatius conſenting to the condition, in the night ſhe opened one of the gates, and let in the Sabins. The ſentiment of Antigonus does not appear to me to be ſingular, who ſaid, *That he loved men while they were betraying, but hated them after they had betrayed*; nor that of Cæſar, who ſaid in the caſe of Rhymitalces the Thracian, *that he loved the treaſon, but hated the traitor*; for it is a diſpoſition which all, who have occaſion for the ſervice of wicked men, bear towards them; ſuch as they have

towards

towards venomous creatures, when they ſtand in need of their poiſon and gall; for as they love them while they are of uſe, ſo they abhor their ill qualities when that is over. And thus did Tatius behave * towards Tarpeia; for he commanded the Sabins, in regard to their contract, not to refuſe her the leaſt part of what they wore on their left arms; and he himſelf firſt took his bracelet off his arm, and threw that, together with his buckler, at her; and all the reſt doing the like, ſhe was cruſhed to death by the weight of them; and Juba tells us, upon the authority of Sulpicius Galba, that Tarpeius himſelf, being proſecuted by Romulus, was found guilty of treaſon. The account given of Tarpeia by ſome writers, of whom Antigonus † is one, is very abſurd; they ſay, that ſhe was the daughter of Tatius the Sabin general, and that being forcibly detained by Romulus, ſhe acted and ſuffered thus by her father's contrivance. But ‡ Simylus, the poet, makes a moſt egregious blunder, who thinks Tarpeia betrayed the capitol not to the Sabins, but to the Gauls, having fallen in love with their king. Thus he writes:

Rome's ſacred walls Tarpeia's guilt o'erturn'd,
Whoſe treach'rous breaſt with lawleſs wiſhes burn'd;
Her country's fortreſs ſhe betray'd, to wed
The foe that elſe had from her country fled.

And a little after ſpeaking of her death:

* Piſo and other hiſtorians ſay, that Tatius treated her in this manner to puniſh her for her perfidy, becauſe whilſt ſhe pretended to betray Romulus and her country to him, ſhe endeavoured in reality to betray him to Romulus, whom ſhe had advertiſed of all that had paſſed between her and the Sabins. In proof of this they allege the honours the Romans paid her memory after her death; for ſhe had a magnificent monument in the capitol, upon which the Romans offered libations.

† Antigonus Cariſtius. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and compiled a hiſtory of Italy. There is ſtill remaining of his works a ſmall collection of marvellous hiſtories.

‡ This Simylus wrote the hiſtory of Italy in verſe.

The numerous nations of the Celtic foe
Bore her not living to the banks of Po;
But on the traitreſs their broad ſhields they threw;
Their faith entombing whom their juſtice ſlew.

Tarpeia afterwards was buried there, and the hill from her was called *Tarpeius*, until Tarquin dedicated the place to *Jupiter*; at which time her bones were removed, and ſo it loſt her name, except only that part of the capitol, which they ſtill call the *Tarpeian rock*, from the top of which malefactors are thrown down.

The Sabins being poſſeſſed of the hill, Romulus in great fury offered them battle; which Tatius did not decline, as he ſaw that he had a ſecure retreat in caſe he was overpowered. It ſeemed that the battle muſt neceſſarily be attended with great fatigue and ſlaughter on both ſides; the plain in which they were to engage, being confined by many little hills which ſurrounded it, and having but a few narrow outlets, inconvenient either for flight or purſuit. It happened too, that the river having overflowed not many days before, there was left behind in the plain, where now the forum is, a deep mud and ſlime, which was the more dangerous becauſe though it was ſoft underneath, yet the ſurface was grown hard, ſo that it was not eaſily diſcoverable by the eye. Upon this place, the Sabins unwarily were about to enter, but were prevented by a fortunate accident; for Curtius, a man of noble rank and high ſpirit, being mounted on horſeback, and galloping a good diſtance before the reſt, his horſe plunged into the ſlough *; he endeavoured a while

* Livy and Dionyſius relate this matter otherwiſe. They ſay that Metius Curtius, after he had with great gallantry repulſed the Romans, was himſelf repulſed in his turn by Romulus, and that when he had received many wounds, and loſt much blood, he caſually fell into the lake as he was endeavouring to make good his retreat.

to diſengage him, by encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows; but finding all ineffectual, he quitted his horſe, and ſaved himſelf. The place from him to this very time is called the *Curtian lake*. The Sabins being by this means warned to avoid this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The fortune of the day was dubious, though many were ſlain; amongſt whom was Hoſtilius, who, they ſay, was huſband to Herſilia, and grandfather to that Hoſtilius who reigned after Numa. It is probable there were many other battles in a ſhort time after; but the moſt memorable was the laſt; in which Romulus having received a wound on his head by a ſtone, and being almoſt beat down to the ground by it, and unable to oppoſe the enemy, the Romans upon that gave ground, and being driven out of the plain, fled to the Palatine mount. Romulus by this time being ſomewhat recovered from his wound, endeavoured by force to ſtop his men in their flight, and with a loud voice encouraged them to return to the engagement. But being overpowered with the number, and none of thoſe that fled daring to face about, he ſtretched out his hands to heaven, and prayed to Jupiter to ſtop the army, and to reſtore and maintain the Roman cauſe, which was now in extreme danger. This prayer being made, many were ſtruck with a reverence for their prince; and the fear of thoſe that fled, was turned into a ſudden courage. They firſt ſtopped at the place where now ſtands the temple of Jupiter Stator, a title given him on account of his ſtopping the army in their flight; there they rallied their forces, and repulſed the Sabins as far as the palace now called *Regia*, and the temple of Veſta; where both parties preparing to renew the combat, were prevented by a ſight ſtrange beyond expreſſion: for the daughters of the Sabins, who had been ſtolen by the Romans, came running in great confuſion,

on all ſides, with miſerable cries and lamentations, like diſtracted creatures, into the midſt of the army, and among the dead bodies, to come at their huſbands, and their fathers; ſome with their children in their arms, others with their hair looſe, but all calling by turns both upon the Sabins, and the Romans, in the moſt tender and endearing words. Both parties melted into compaſſion, and fell back, that they might make room for them betwixt the armies. Now their lamentation was heard by all, and all were affected by the ſight of the women, but more by their complaints, which began with upbraiding and expoſtulation, but ended with ſupplication and entreaty.

Wherein, they ſay, *have we injured or offended you, that we already have ſuffered ſuch calamities, and ſtill muſt ſuffer more? We were ſeized unjuſtly and violently by thoſe to whom we now belong; when that was done, we were ſo long neglected by our fathers, our brethren, and relations, that being now by the ſtricteſt bonds united to thoſe whom we once mortally hated, we cannot but fear for the danger, and lament the death of the very men who once uſed violence to us. So that you do not now come to vindicate our honour, as virgins, from them that injured us, but to force away wives from their huſbands, and mothers from their children; making this your attempt to reſcue us, more grievous to us than your former neglect of us was; ſuch is their love towards us, and ſuch your compaſſion. Did you make war upon any other occaſion, yet for our ſakes you ought to deſiſt, ſince you are our fathers, our grandfathers, our relations and kindred: but if this war be for us, take us together with your ſons in-law, and reſtore us to our parents and friends; but do not rob us, we beſeech you, of our children and huſbands, leſt we again become captives.* Herſilia having ſpoken much to this purpoſe, and others earneſtly making the ſame requeſt, a truce was made, and the chief officers came to a treaty. The women, during that time, preſented their huſbands and children to their fathers

fathers and brethren, brought refreſhments to thoſe who wanted them, and carried the wounded home to be cured; they ſhowed alſo how much they governed within doors, and how indulgent their huſbands were to them in demeaning themſelves towards them with all imaginable kindneſs and reſpect. Upon this, conditions were agreed upon, that what women pleaſed might ſtay with their huſbands, exempt from all drudgery and labour but ſpinning; that the Romans and Sabins ſhould inhabit the city promiſcuouſly together; that the city ſhould be called *Rome* from *Romulus*, but the Romans * *Quirites*, from Cures the capital of the Sabins, and the country of Tatius; and that Tatius and Romulus ſhould both govern and command the army in common. The place of this ratification is ſtill called *Comitium*, from *Coire*, to meet together. The city being thus doubled in number, an hundred of the Sabins were elected ſenators, and the legions were increaſed to 6000 foot, and 600 horſe †: then they divided the people into three tribes; the firſt, from Romulus, were named *Rhamnenſes*;

* *That every citizen particularly mentioned ſhould be called* Roman, *but the whole body of the people* Quirites, ſaith Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus; but this is contradicted by the form anciently uſed in the publication of interments, where it was declared *Ollus Quiris letho datus eſt*, from whence it appears that every citizen in particular was called *Quiris*.

† Rualdus, in his animadverſions upon Plutarch, has diſcovered two manifeſt errors in this place. Plutarch aſſures us that Romulus incorporated 600 horſe in every legion, whereas there never were at any time ſo many in any of the legions. There were at firſt 200 horſe in each legion; after that they roſe to 300, and at laſt to 400, but never came up to 600. In the ſecond place, he tells us that Romulus made the legion to conſiſt of 6000 foot, which was never done in his time. It is ſaid by ſome, that Marius was the firſt that raiſed the legion to that number; whereas Livy gives us to underſtand, that that augmentation was made by Scipio Africanus long before Marius. In Romulus's time a legion never muſtered more than 3000 foot. After the expulſion of the kings it was augmented to 4000, ſome time afterwards to 5000, and at laſt to 6000 by Scipio; but this was never done but upon preſſing occaſions. The ſtated force of a legion was 4000 foot, and 200 horſe.

the ſecond, from Tatius, *Tatienſes*; the third were called *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* or *grove*, where the Aſylum ſtood, whither many fled for ſanctuary, and were received into the city. And that they were juſt three, appears from the very name of *Tribe* and *Tribune*, *i. e.* chief of the tribe. Each Tribe contained ten Curiæ or Wards, which, ſome ſay, took their names from the Sabin women; but that ſeems to be falſe, becauſe many had their names from the different quarters of the city which were aſſigned to them. It is true, that many regulations were made in honour of the women: as that the men ſhould give them the way where-ever they met them, ſhould ſpeak no indecent word in their preſence, nor appear naked before them; that in a caſe of murder they ſhould not be tried by the ordinary judge *; that their children ſhould wear an ornament about their necks called the *Bulla*, becauſe it was like a bubble, and the Prætexta, a garment edged with purple.

The two princes did not immediately join in council together, but at firſt each met with his own hundred, afterwards all aſſembled together. Tatius dwelt where now the temple of † Moneta ſtands; and Romulus cloſe by the ſteps, as they call them, of the *pleaſant ſhore*, near the deſcent from the Palatine mount to the Circus Maximus. There, they ſay, grew the holy cornel-tree, of which they give this fabulous account; that Romulus once to try his ſtrength, throwing a dart from the Aventine mount, (the ſtaff of which was made of cornel), the head of it ſtruck ſo deep into the ground, that no one, of many that tried, could pluck it up: and the ſoil, being fertile, afforded the wood ſo

* If one of theſe Sabine women had committed a murder, ſhe was to be tried for it by a committee of the ſenate.

† Moneta, that is, Juno Moneta, Juna the admoniſher. Tatius was poſſeſſed of the Capitoline and Quirinal mounts, and Romulus of the Palatine and Cælian.

much

much nouriſhment, that it ſhot forth branches, and produced a trunk of cornel of conſiderable bigneſs. This poſterity preſerved and worſhipped as one of the moſt ſacred things, and therefore walled it about; and if to any one it appeared not greennor flouriſhing, but inclining to fade and wither, he preſently proclaimed it to all he met, and they calling for water, as in a fire, ran from all parts with buckets full to the place. But, they ſay, when Caius Cæſar was repairing thoſe ſteps, ſome of the labourers happened to dig too cloſe about it, ſo that the root was injured, and the tree withered.

The Sabins agreed to uſe the Roman months. All that is of importance on this ſubject is mentioned in the life of Numa. Romulus, on the other hand, came into the uſe of the Sabin ſhields, and made an alteration both in his own armour and that of the reſt of the Romans, who before wore ſmall targets after the manner of the Greeks. But as to feaſts and ſacrifices, they partook of them in common, not aboliſhing any which either nation obſerved before, and inſtituting ſeveral new ones: one of which was the * Matronalia, inſtituted in honour of the women, for their putting an end to the war; another was the † Carmentalia. Some think Carmenta is a deſtiny who preſides over the birth of men, for which reaſon ſhe is particularly honoured by mothers. Others ſay, ſhe was the wife of Evander the Arcadian, and a propheteſs, who uſed to deliver her oracles in verſe; and from *Carmen*, a verſe, was called *Carmenta*, though her proper name was *Nicoſtrata*. Others more probably derive Car-

* The feaſt of the Roman matrons celebrated on the firſt of April, at which time they offered a ſacrifice to Mars and Juno, and received preſents from their friends.

† This was a very ſolemn feſtival kept on the 11th of January, under the capitol near the Carmental gate. They begged of this goddeſs to render their women fertile, and give them happy deliveries.

menta

menta from *carens mente*, as being bereft of her wits, by reaſon of her prophetic madneſs and enthuſiaſm. Of the feaſt of Palilia, we have ſpoke before. The * Lupercalia, by the time of its celebration, may ſeem to be a feaſt of purification, for it is ſolemnized on one of the inauſpicious days of the month February, which name ſignifies *purifying*; and the very day of the feaſt was anciently called *Februata*: but the name of it, originally, ſignifies *the feaſt of wolves*; and it ſeems upon this account to be of great antiquity, and brought in by the † Arcadians who came with Evander. This is the common opinion; but it may be derived as well from the ſhe-wolf that ſuckled Romulus; and we ſee the Luperci [the prieſts who run about the city on that day] begin their courſe from the place where they ſay Romulus was expoſed. But the ceremonies that are then performed, render the original of the thing more difficult to be gueſſed at: for firſt there are goats killed; then two noblemens ſons being brought, ſome are to ſtain their foreheads with the bloody knife, others preſently to wipe it off with wool dipt in milk; then the boys muſt laugh after their foreheads are wiped; that done, having cut the goats ſkins into thongs, they run about naked, except that they have a covering about their middle, laſhing all they meet; the young-married women, inſtead of avoiding, deſire to receive their ſtrokes, fancying it helps conception and child-birth. Another thing proper to this feaſt, is, for the Luperci to ſacrifice a dog. Butas, a poet, who wrote a fabulous account of the origin of the Roman cuſtoms in elegiac verſe, ſays, that Romulus and Remus, after having conquered Amulius, ran joyfully to the place where the wolf gave them ſuck; that in imitation of that action this feaſt was kept; that

* This feaſt was celebrated on the 11th of February, in honour of the god Pan.

† For the Arcadians celebrated the ſame feaſt in honour of the ſame deity.

two

two young noblemen ran, ſtriking at all that were in their way,

As when with ſword in hand, their foes o'ercome,
Joyful from Alba ran the ſires of Rome;

that the bloody knife was applied to their forehead, in memory of the danger they were then in, and of the blood that was ſpilt that day; and that the cleanſing of them with milk, was in remembrance of their firſt food and nouriſhment. But * Caius Acilius writes, that before the city was built, the cattle of Romulus and Remus one day going aſtray, they, praying to the god Faunus, ran about naked to ſeek them, that they might not be troubled with ſweat, and that for that reaſon the Luperci run naked. If this ſacrifice be by way of purification, it is probable that they uſed a dog for that purpoſe; for the Grecians in their luſtrations, or purifying ſacrifices, always make uſe of dogs, and perform the ceremony which they call *Periſcylaciſmos* †. But if they celebrate this as a feſtival of gratitude to the wolf for nouriſhing and preſerving Romulus, there is then alſo a good reaſon for their killing a dog, as being an enemy to wolves: but perhaps nothing more was meant by it than to puniſh the creature for moleſting the Luperci when they ran about.

It is ſaid that Romulus conſecrated the ‡ holy fire, and inſtituted the order of Veſtals; others aſcribe it to Numa Pompilius: however it is agreed, that Romulus was otherwiſe eminently religious, and

* Caius Acilius Glabrio was tribune of the people in the year 556. He wrote in Greek, and is quoted both by Cicero, and Livy. The laſt of whom ſays that his annals were tranſlated into Latin by Claudius.

† Among other offerings of purification they offered little dogs to Proſerpine, which they carried round thoſe that wanted to be purified.

‡ Plutarch means that Romulus was the author of this inſtitution at Rome; for before his birth a ſacred fire was kept at Alba, and there was an order of Veſtals, ſince Romulus's mother was herſelf a Veſtal.

well

well ſkilled in the art of divination, and for that reaſon had a lituus always in his hand, which is a crooked rod, with which the ſoothſayers deſcribe the quarters of the heavens, when they ſit to obſerve the flight of birds. This lituus was afterwards kept in the capitol, but was loſt when the city was taken by the Gauls. After the barbarians were driven out, it was found in the ruins under a great heap of aſhes, untouched by the fire, all things about it being conſumed.

He made ſeveral laws, one of which is ſomewhat ſevere *; for it does not allow a wife to leave her huſband, but grants a huſband a power to turn off his wife, either for poiſoning her children †, or counterfeiting his keys, or for adultery; but if the

* I know not where Plutarch met with this law of Romulus. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays on the contrary, that Romulus rendered the married ſtate holy, and indiſſoluble *by confarreation*, that is, by the participation of barley, which had been the common food of men in the firſt ages of the world. It is true, that when a woman was found guilty of any notorious crime, ſuch as adultery or drunkenneſs, the huſband was at liberty to puniſh her; but it was to be with the privity and conſent of her parents or relations, who had a right to take cogniſance of the fact in conjunction with him. The law of divorce was by no means eſtabliſhed by Romulus; on the contrary, it is certain that among the Romans the wife was entitled to the ſame privileges with her huſband.

† It is ſtrange that at a time when parricide was deemed an impoſſibility, and therefore not mentioned in the laws, as Plutarch immediately after obſerves, that it ſhould be ſuppoſed poſſible for a mother to poiſon her children; nor is it leſs unaccountable, that a woman convicted of ſuch a crime ſhould be puniſhed only by a divorce. A difficulty alſo attends the ſecond cauſe of divorce here mentioned, the counterfeiting the huſband's keys; not only becauſe it is improbable that a fault comparatively ſlight ſhould be joined with ſo horrid a crime as the former, and that the ſame puniſhment ſhould be appointed for both; but likewiſe becauſe it does not appear that a woman could have any temptation to commit it; for among the Romans, the keys of the houſe were in the wife's keeping; it was one of the ceremonies of marriage for the bridegroom to deliver his keys to the bride as ſoon as ſhe entered his houſe; and in caſe of a divorce ſhe reſtored them in form to her huſband. Some attempts have been made by the commentators to remove theſe difficulties, but none of their ſolutions appear ſatisfactory.

huſband

huſband upon any other occaſion put her away, one moiety of his eſtate was to be given to the wife, the other to be devoted to the goddeſs Ceres; and whoever divorced his wife, was to make an atonement by ſacrifice to the infernal gods. This too is obſervable, that Romulus appointed no puniſhment for real parricide, but called all murder *parricide*, thinking the one deteſtable, but the other impoſſible; in which for a long time he ſeemed to have judged rightly, for in almoſt 600 years there was no inſtance of that crime in Rome; and Lucius Oſtius, after the wars of Hannibal, is recorded to have been the firſt parricide. But let thus much ſuffice concerning theſe matters.

In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, ſome of his friends and kinſmen meeting certain * ambaſſadors coming from Laurentum to Rome, attempted on the road to rob them; which they not ſuffering, but defending themſelves, they killed them. Romulus thought that ſo atrocious a crime deſerved immediate puniſhment; but Tatius neglected and delayed the affair; and this was the firſt beginning of an open quarrel betwixt them; for before this they behaved with great reſpect to each other, and adminiſtered affairs together with perfect unanimity. The relations of them that were ſlain, being prevented by Tatius from obtaining ſatisfaction, fell upon him as he was † ſacrificing with Romulus at Lavinium, and killed him, but honourably attended Romulus back, highly com-

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays that they were ambaſſadors from Lavinium, who had been at Rome to complain of the incurſions made by ſome of Tatius's friends upon their territories, and that as they were returning, the Sabins lay in wait for them on the road, ſtripped them, and killed ſeveral of them.

† This ſacrifice the kings of Rome were obliged to go once a-year to perform to the gods of the country for the ſafety of their city. Licinius writes that Tatius went not thither with Romulus, nor on account of the ſacrifice, but that he went alone to perſuade the inhabitants to pardon the murderers.

mending

mending him for a juſt prince. Romulus took the body of Tatius, and buried it very ſplendidly in the Aventine mount, near the place called * *Armiluſtrium*, but altogether neglected revenging his murder. Some hiſtorians write, that the people of Laurentum, fearing the conſequence, delivered up the murderers of Tatius; but Romulus diſmiſſed them, ſaying, one murder was requited with another. This gave occaſion to ſuſpect and report, that he was not diſpleaſed at the removal of his partner in the government. None of theſe things however raiſed any feud or diſturbance among the Sabins; but they all continued to live peaceably, and to ſhow the profoundeſt veneration and ſubmiſſion to Romulus, ſome out of love to him, ſome out of fear of his power, and others becauſe they reverenced him as a God. Many foreign nations too paid great reſpect to him; the ancient Latins ſent ambaſſadors, and entered into a league with him. Fidenæ a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, he took, as ſome ſay, by ſending a party of horſe before, with command to cut off the hinges of the gates, and then marching thither unexpectedly in perſon. Others ſay, that the Fidenates having firſt made the invaſion by plundering and ravaging the Roman territories, Romulus lay in ambuſh for them, and after having killed many of them, took the city; however he did not demoliſh it, but made it a Roman colony, and ſent thither on the thirtieth of April 2500 inhabitants. Preſently after a plague broke out, which killed ſuddenly without any previous ſickneſs; it affected likewiſe the trees and the cattle ſo as to deſtroy their fertility. It rained blood too in the city, ſo that the terrors of ſuperſtition were added to their other calamities. But

* It was ſo called, becauſe the troops aſſembled there once a-year under arms in order to be purified. The feaſt, which was held on the 19th of October, the ſacrifice, and the place where it was performed, were all called *Armiluſtrium*.

eſpecially

eſpecially when the ſame miſchiefs fell upon Laurentum alſo, then every one judged it was the divine vengeance that fell upon both cities for their neglecting to puniſh the murder of Tatius and the ambaſſadors. But the murderers on both ſides being delivered up, and put to death, the calamities viſibly abated, and Romulus purified the cities with luſtrations, which, they ſay, are even to this time performed at the gate called *Ferentina*. Before the plague ceaſed, the Camerians invaded the Romans, and over-ran the country, thinking, that, by reaſon of the diſtemper, they were unable to withſtand them; but Romulus preſently made head againſt them, and gained the victory, with the ſlaughter of 6000 men: he then took their city, and brought half of thoſe he found there, to Rome; and on the firſt of Auguſt ſent from Rome to Cameria double the number he left there. So many citizens had he to ſpare, in ſixteen years time from the building of Rome. Among other ſpoils he took a brazen chariot from Cameria, which he placed in the temple of Vulcan, ſetting * thereon his own ſtatue crowned by victory.

The Roman cauſe thus daily gathering ſtrength, the weaker neighbours ſubmitted, and were content to live in ſecurity; the ſtronger, out of fear or envy, thought they ought not to make light of Romulus, but to curb him, and put a ſtop to his growing greatneſs. The firſt were the Veientes, a people of Tuſcany, who poſſeſſed a large territory,

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, that he added his own ſtatue, on which was an inſcription in Greek containing an account of all his exploits, but he makes no mention of the victory: and I very much queſtion the inſcription; for, as I had occaſion to obſerve before, they did not, till many years after Romulus, begin to make inſcriptions on their ſtatues, and when they did, they only expreſſed the name and dignity of thoſe in honour of whom thoſe ſtatues were erected; and I am of opinion, that for more than 600 years together there was no ſtatue to be ſeen at Rome with thoſe long and pompous inſcriptions, which were afterwards invented by the vanity of ſucceeding generations.

and inhabited a ſpacious city; they took an occaſion to commence a war, by redemanding Fidenæ, as belonging to them. But it was not only unreaſonable, but very ridiculous, that they, who did not aſſiſt the inhabitants of Fidenæ in the greateſt extremities, but permitted them to be deſtroyed, ſhould now challenge their lands and houſes, when in the hands of others. They accordingly received a ſcornful anſwer from Romulus; upon which they divided themſelves into two bodies: one attacked the garriſon of Fidenæ; the other marched againſt Romulus; that which went againſt Fidenæ got the victory, and ſlew 2000 Romans; the other was worſted by Romulus, with the loſs of 8000 men. They afterwards fought again near Fidenæ; and all acknowledge that the ſucceſs of the day was owing to Romulus himſelf, who ſhowed the moſt conſummate ſkill as well as courage, and ſeemed to exert a ſtrength and ſwiftneſs more than human. But what ſome write, that of 14000 who fell that day, above * half were ſlain by Romulus's own hand, is fabulous and abſurd; ſince even the Meſſenians are thought to have been extravagant in their boaſts of Ariſtomenes, who, they ſay, three times offered a ſacrifice of an hundred victims for having killed ſo many Lacedæmonians in three battles. The army of the Veientes being thus routed, Romulus, ſuffering thoſe that were left to make their eſcape, drew up his forces againſt their city. They, having ſuffered ſo great a defeat, did not venture to oppoſe him; but humbly ſuing to him, contracted a league and friendſhip for 100 years, yielding to him a large tract of land called *Septempagium*, which ſignifies a

* The hiſtorians here meant by Plutarch had literally taken what they found in their ſongs of triumph, where we may be ſure they were not ſparing in their hyperboles. Thus the Iſraelitiſh women, when they came out to meet David on his return from the ſlaughter of the Philiſtines, had it in their ſong, *Saul has ſlain his thouſands, and David his ten thouſands.*

diſtrict

diſtrict containing ſeven towns; beſides this, they gave up the ſalt-ſprings upon the river; and delivered into his hands fifty of their chief men for hoſtages. He triumphed for this on the fifteenth of October, leading, among the reſt of his many captives, the general of the Veientes, a man in years, but who ſeemed, in the conduct of this affair, to have behaved imprudently, and unbecoming his age; whence even now, in their ſacrifices for victory, they lead an old man through the market-place to the capitol, dreſſed in a purple garment, with a bulla or child's ornament tied to it, and the herald cries *, *Sardians to be ſold*; for the Tuſcans are ſaid to be a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuſcany.

This was the laſt war in which Romulus was engaged. After this he behaved as almoſt all men do who are raiſed by extraordinary turns of fortune to power and greatneſs; for being elated with his ſucceſſes, he grew more haughty and aſſuming, and changed his former popular behaviour into the pride and ſtatelineſs of an abſolute monarch. His habit was a purple veſt, over which he threw a robe with a purple border; he gave audience in a chair of ſtate, having always about him ſome young men called † *celeres*, from their ſwiftneſs in doing buſineſs; others

* Plutarch, in his Roman queſtions, gives us the ſame account of the original of this cuſtom; but he is miſtaken, for the Tuſcans were by no means of Lydian deſcent, as we have proved elſewhere. Sinnius Capito was better informed, when he ſaid that this cuſtom began after the conſul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus had conquered Sardinia, from whence he brought ſuch a multitude of ſlaves, that for a long time together no ſlaves were expoſed to ſale in the market but Sardians, which gave occaſion to the proverb, *Sardians to be ſold, all rogues alike*; and this proverb was afterwards applied to all ſorts of priſoners that were brought to Rome in triumph.

† He had formed three companies of three hundred of the moſt valiant men in his army, who were his body-guard, and fought always near his perſon, ſome horſe and ſome foot, like the life-guards of the kings of Sparta.

went before him with ſtaves to make room for him, having ſeveral thongs of leather in readineſs, to bind whomever he commanded. The Latins formerly uſed *ligare* in the ſome ſenſe as they now uſe *alligare*, which ſignifies *to bind* *, whence theſe ſerjeants were called *lictores*, and the rods they carried were called *faſces*; though perhaps they were firſt called *litores*, and afterwards by putting in a *c*, *lictores*; for they are the ſame that the Grecians call *leitourgoi*, (or officers for the people), and the Grecians ſtill call the people in general, *leitos*, and the common people *laos*.

When after the death of his grandfather Numitor in Alba, that kingdom devolved upon Romulus, he, to pleaſe the people, left the government in their own hands, and appointed yearly a particular magiſtrate to ſuperintend the Sabins †. But by this example he taught the great men of Rome likewiſe to ſeek after a free and antimonarchical ſtate, wherein all might ſhare by turns in the government; for the Patricians were not now concerned in ſtate-affairs, but had only the name and title of honour left them, convening in council rather for faſhion's ſake than to give advice; for they in ſilence heard the king's commands, and ſo departed, exceeding the commonalty only in this, that they heard firſt what was determined. But this was not the worſt. When he of his own authority diſtributed among his ſoldiers what lands were acquired by war, and reſtored the Veientes their hoſtages ‡, without the

* Plutarch was not accurately ſkilled in the La in language, otherwiſe he would not have repreſented the word *ligare* as obſolete; and he ſays the contrary himſelf in his book of Roman queſtions; his words are theſe: *To bind is* alligare *in the language of the common people, but thoſe who ſpeak with the greateſt purity uſe* ligare.

† Xylander and H. Stephens are of opinion that inſtead of Sabins we ſhould read Albans; and thus the Latin tranſlator renders it.

‡ To this Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus adds, that he likewiſe rendered himſelf inſupportable by his cruelty, having condemned ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable among the Romans to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock.

conſent

conſent of the ſenate, this was looked upon as an outrageous inſult; therefore when he ſuddenly diſappeared a ſhort time after, the ſenate fell under ſtrong ſuſpicions. He diſappeared on the ſeventh day of the month now called *July*, but then *Quintilis*, leaving nothing of certainty to be related of his death, only the time. For there are now upon that day many ceremonies performed in repreſentation of that accident *. Neither is this uncertainty to be thought ſtrange, ſeeing the manner of the death of Scipio Africanus, who died at his own houſe after ſupper, was never well aſcertained; for ſome ſay, he died naturally and ſuddenly, as he was of a ſickly conſtitution; ſome, that he poiſoned himſelf †; and others, that his enemies, breaking in upon him in the night, ſtifled him. Beſides, Scipio, when he was dead, was expoſed to public view; and indeed his body gave ſome ſuſpicion, and means of diſcovering the fact: but when Romulus diſappeared, neither the leaſt part of his body, or of his cloaths was to be ſeen; ſo that ſome imagined, that while he was holding an aſſembly of the ſenate in the temple of Vulcan, the ſenators fell upon him, cut his body in pieces, and each took a part away in his boſom. Others ſay, that his diſappearance was neither in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the preſence of the ſenators only; but that it happened while he was holding an aſſembly of the people without the city, near a place called the *Goats Marſh*,

* The Romans in their calendar call that day *populifugium, the flight of the people*; *Nonæ Caprotinæ, the Caprotine Nones*; *et feſtum ancillarum, the feaſt of the ſervant-maids*; which three things particularly relate to that accident, as will be obſerved in its place.

† His wife Sempronia, ſiſter of the Gracchi, whoſe deſigns were conſtantly, and with great zeal oppoſed by him, was ſuſpected to have poiſoned him. However it was, no inquiry was ever made into the circumſtances of his death; which gave occaſion to this paſſage in Valerius Maximus, *Raptorem ſpiritus domi invenit, mortis punitorem in foro non reperit.* "He met his murderer in his own houſe, but found no one in the court of judicature to proſecute the murderer."

and that on a ſudden ſtrange and unaccountable diſorders aroſe in the air; the ſun was darkened *, and the day was turned into a tempeſtuous night, with dreadful thunders and boiſterous winds blowing from all quarters, which ſcattered the populace, though the ſenators kept cloſe together. The tempeſt being over, and the light breaking out, when the people gathered again, they miſſed and inquired for their king; but the ſenators would not let them ſearch, or buſy themſelves about the matter, but commanded them to honour and worſhip Romulus, as one taken up to the gods, and who, after having been a good prince, was now to be to them a propitious deity. The multitude hearing this, went away with great ſatisfaction, worſhipping him, in hopes of his favour and protection. But there were ſome, who canvaſſing the matter more rigorouſly, accuſed the Patricians of impoſing on the people by ridiculous tales, when they themſelves were the murderers of the king. Things being in this diſorder, it is ſaid, that Julius Proculus †, a Patrician, of noble family, and excellent character, and an intimate friend of Romulus, who came with him from Alba, preſented himſelf to the people, and declared, with a moſt ſolemn oath, that as he was travelling on the road, Romulus had met him in bright and glittering ar-

* The ancients tell us, that Romulus, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years, died whilſt the ſun was under a very great eclipſe. Thus Tully in his fragments, *lib.* 6. *de repub. Namque ut olim deficere ſol, hominibuſque extingui viſus eſt, cum Romuli animus hæc ipſa templa penetravit.* "For as heretofore the ſun was ſeen to languiſh, and even to be extinguiſhed, whilſt Romulus's ſoul was entering into this very temple." The truth is, it appears from the aſtronomical tables, that there was an eclipſe of the ſun towards the end of the firſt year of the ſixteenth Olympiad, on the twenty-ſixth of May, which, conſidering the little exactneſs there was then in the Roman calendar, might very well coincide with the month of July. But then how are we to make this agree with the feaſt the Romans obſerved annually for the death of Romulus, which was celebrated about the middle of February? It is very likely the Romans were as much in the dark as to the time when Romulus died, as when he laid the foundation of Rome.

† A deſcendent of Aſcanius.

mour,

mour, and with an aſpect more noble and auguſt than while he was living; and that he being terrified at the apparition ſaid, *How have we deſerved, O King, to be expoſed to ſuch cruel and unjuſt calumnies? And why is your orphan city left thus deſtitute and diſtreſſed?* and that he made anſwer: *It pleaſed the gods, O Proculus, that after I had remained a certain time among men, and built a city, which will be hereafter the greateſt in the world both in empire and glory, I ſhould again return to heaven from whence I came. Farewell, and tell the Romans, that, by the exerciſe of temperance and fortitude, they ſhall arrive to the higheſt pitch of human power, and I the God Quirinus will be ever propitious to them.* This ſeemed very credible to the Romans, both on account of the honeſty and oath of him that ſpoke it; and a certain enthuſiaſm ſeizing on all of them, no one contradicted it; but laying aſide all jealouſies and cenſures, they unanimouſly invoked Quirinus as a god.

This is like ſome of the Grecian fables related of Ariſteas * the Proconneſian, and Cleomedes the Aſtypalæan: for they ſay, Ariſteas died in a fuller's workhouſe; that when his friends came to look for him, his body was not to be found; and that ſome preſently after coming in from a journey, ſaid, they met him travelling on the road towards Croton †. Of Cleomedes it is ſaid, that being a man remarkably ſtrong and gigantic, and withal of a wild and furious diſpoſition, he committed many deſperate actions; at laſt, in a certain ſchool, ſtriking a pil-

* This Ariſteas was an hiſtorian, poet, and notorious cheat. He wrote the hiſtory of the Arimaſpæ, or Scythians, in hexameter verſe, if it be true that that work is his, which Dionyſius much queſtions. He pretended that he could make his ſoul leave his body whenever he pleaſed, and that it would return again. He was contemporary with Cræſus. We have this ſtory of him at large in the fourth book of Herodotus.

† A man of Artacia near Cyzicus affirmed, that he met Ariſteas on the road to Cyzicus, and ſpoke to him. Plutarch has confounded this with another adventure of the ſame Ariſteas at Metapontum, which Herodotus relates immediately after the former.

lar

lar that ſuſtained the roof with his hand, he broke it in the middle, ſo that the houſe fell and deſtroyed the children in it *. Being purſued, he fled into a great cheſt, and ſhutting the lid over him, held it ſo faſt, that many men with all their ſtrength could not force it open: afterwards, upon breaking the cheſt to pieces, they found no man in it, alive or dead; at which being aſtoniſhed, they ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi, and received from the propheteſs this anſwer:

Of heroes, Cleomedes is the laſt †.

They ſay too, the body of Alcmena, as they were carrying it to her grave, vaniſhed, and a ſtone was found lying on the bier; and many ſuch improbabilities do fabulous writers relate, deifying creatures naturally mortal. Indeed altogether to deny the divine power of virtue, is an impious and illiberal ſentiment; but to confound earth with heaven, is as ſtupidly ridiculous. Therefore we muſt reject ſuch fables, being aſſured, that, according to Pindar,

Our bodies ſhrink to duſt by death's decree;
The ſoul ſurvives, and fills eternity.

For that alone is derived from the gods; thence it comes, and thither it returns; not with the body, but when it is moſt free and ſeparated from it, and is altogether pure, and diſengaged from fleſh. For *a virtuous ſoul is*, as Heraclitus expreſſes it, *a pure and unmixed light*, which flies out of the body, as lightning breaks from a cloud; but that which is

* We find this ſtory related, with all its circumſtances, in the fourth book of Pauſanias. He ſays, that as Cleomedes, in the ſeventy-ſecond Olympiad, was wreſtling with a man of Epidaurus, called *Iccus*, he ſlew him; and that the judges, offended at the barbarity of the action, refuſed him the prize; which ſo mortified him that he went home, and loſt his ſenſes.

† Plutarch only mentions the firſt verſe in the anſwer; the prieſteſs added, *Honour him with your ſacrifices, as one that has ceaſed to be mortal.*

immerſed

immerſed in the body, is like a groſs and cloudy vapour, hard to be kindled, and mounting with difficulty. We muſt not therefore, contrary to nature, ſend the bodies with the ſouls of good men to heaven; but then we muſt really believe, that, both from their own nature and the divine conſtitution, virtuous ſouls are exalted from men into heroes; from heroes into demi-gods; and after that, if they are perfectly purified as in the ſacred initiations, and refined from all the paſſions which attend mortality, they are raiſed to conſummate felicity, and are inrolled amongſt the gods *, not by the vote of a people, but by the juſt and eſtabliſhed order of nature.

Romulus's ſurname Quirinus, ſome ſay, ſignifies the ſame as Mars; others ſay, that he was ſo called, becauſe the citizens were called *Quirites*; others, becauſe the ancients called a javelin or ſpear *quiris*; for the image of Juno leaning on a ſpear was called *the image of Juno Quiritis*; and the javelin in the king's palace was called *Mars*; and thoſe that behaved themſelves valiantly in war were uſually preſented with a ſpear; therefore Romulus being a martial god, was called *Quirinus*. There is a temple built to his honour on the mount, called from him *Quirinalis*.

The day on which he vaniſhed is called *the flight of the people*, and *nonæ caprotinæ*, or the *nones of the goats*, becauſe the people go then out of the city, and ſacrifice at the Goats-Marſh, *i. e. Capreæ palus*, for they call a goat *caprea*; and as they go, they call

* Heſiod was the firſt who diſtinguiſhed thoſe four natures, men, heroes, demi-gods, and gods; from whence the philoſophers imagined this gradation, or, if I may ſo ſay, this refining of ſouls. After death they become heroes; from heroes, after certain revolutions, they become demi-gods, or genii; and they that had led a ſtrict holy life whilſt in the body, from genii became real gods, after they had perfectly purified themſelves by virtue; and till they had attained to this laſt perfection, they were liable to be replunged into their primitive ſtate of darkneſs.

out

out loudly upon the names of ſome of their countrymen, as Marcus and Caius, repreſenting the manner in which they then fled, and called upon one another in that fright and hurry. Some ſay, this was not deſigned to imitate a flight, but merely to expreſs expedition and eagerneſs, and give this account of it. When the Gauls who had taken Rome, were driven out by Camillus, and the city had not as yet recovered its ſtrength, many of the Latins, under the command of Livius Poſthumius, took this opportunity to march againſt it. This army ſitting down before Rome, an herald was ſent, ſignifying that the Latins were deſirous to renew their former alliance and affinity, which was now almoſt decayed, by contracting new marriages between both nations; that if the Romans therefore would ſend them a conſiderable number of their virgins and widows, this would be a means of eſtabliſhing between the two nations a friendſhip and connection of the ſame nature with that which formerly ſubſiſted between the Romans and the Sabins. The Romans hearing this, though they dreaded a war, yet thought a ſurrender of their women little better than a mere captivity. Being in this doubt, a ſervant-maid, called *Philotis*, or, as ſome ſay, *Tutola*, adviſed them to do neither, but rather, by a ſtratagem, to avoid both fighting, and the giving up ſuch pledges. The ſtratagem was this, that they ſhould ſend her, with a company of handſome ſervant-maids, well dreſſed, to the enemy, inſtead of free-born virgins; and ſhe would in the night light up a torch, at which the Romans ſhould come armed, and ſurpriſe the enemy aſleep. The Latins were thus deceived; and accordingly Philotis ſet up a torch in a wild fig-tree, ſcreening it behind with curtains and coverlets from the ſight of the enemy; but it was viſible to the Romans. When they ſaw it, they ran furiouſly together out of the gates, haſtening one another as much as poſſible, and falling

ing unexpectedly upon the enemy, defeated them. In commemoration of this victory they made a feaſt of triumph, called *the nones of the goats*, becauſe of the wild fig-tree, which the Romans call *caprificus*, or the *goat-fig*. At this feaſt they entertain the women without the city in arbours made of fig-tree boughs, and the ſervant-maids meet and run about playing, and afterwards fight in ſport, and throw ſtones at one another, in memory of the aſſiſtance they gave the Romans on that occaſion. But moſt authors reject this account: for the calling upon one another's names by day, and the going out to the Goats-Marſh, as to a ſacrifice, ſeems to agree more to the former relation; unleſs perhaps both the actions, done at ſeveral times, might have happened on the ſame day of the year. They ſay, it was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign that Romulus left the world *.

The compariſon of ROMULUS and THESEUS.

THeſe are the moſt material circumſtances which I have met with concerning Romulus and Theſeus. The firſt obſervation I ſhall make concerning them is this. Theſeus ſeemed of his own choice, and without any neceſſity impoſed upon him, (ſince he might have reigned in ſecurity at Trœzene, in the enjoyment of no inglorious empire), to have been ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by heroic actions. The other, to eſcape impending ſlavery and puniſhment, was (to uſe Plato's expreſſion) rouſed to valour merely from fear, and forced upon great enterpriſes by the dread of extreme ſufferings. Again, the greateſt action of Romulus was

* According to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, he died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his reign.

the

the killing one king of Alba; whereas the very firſt eſſays of Theſeus, and thoſe occaſionally undertaken only, were the conqueſts of Sciron, Sinnis, Procruſtes, and Corynetes; by reducing and killing of whom, he delivered Greece from violent oppreſſors, before any of them that were relieved knew who did it. Beſides, he was at liberty to have gone to Athens by ſea, by which means he would have been perfectly ſecure from thoſe robbers; whereas Romulus could not help being in action whilſt Amulius lived. A great proof of this is, that Theſeus, for no wrong done to himſelf, but for the ſake of others, attacked theſe villains; but Romulus and Remus, as long as they themſelves ſuffered no injury from the tyrant, permitted him to oppreſs others. And if it be a great thing to have been wounded in battle by the Sabins, to have killed King Acron, and to have conquered many enemies, we may oppoſe to theſe actions the battle with the Centaurs, and with the Amazons. But as to Theſeus's offering himſelf voluntarily with the other youths and virgins, as part of the Cretan tribute, whether he was to be a prey to a monſter, or a victim upon the tomb of Androgeus, or, which is the leaſt of all the evils with which he is ſaid to have been threatened, to live vilely and diſhonourably in ſlavery to inſolent and cruel men; it is not to be expreſſed what courage, magnanimity, generoſity, public ſpirit, and love of glory and virtue, were ſhown by this action. So that I think the philoſophers did not ill define love to be *a remedy provided by the gods for the preſervation of youth* *; for the love of Ariadne ſeems to have been the work of ſome god, who by this means deſigned to preſerve Theſeus: and indeed we ought not to blame her for loving him, but rather wonder that all were not alike affected towards him; and if ſhe alone

* This is taken from the diſcourſe of Diotimus in Plato's banquet.

were

were ſo, I dare pronounce her worthy of the love of a god *, who, by her affection for ſo brave a man, ſhowed herſelf ſo great a lover of virtue and goodneſs.

Theſeus and Romulus both had political talents; but neither of them preſerved the proper character of a king, the one declining to a popular government, the other degenerating into a tyrant, both committing the ſame fault from contrary paſſions. For a prince's firſt concern ought to be the preſervation of the government itſelf; and in order to this he ſhould neither claim more authority than is his due, nor, on the other hand, give up any part of his prerogative. Whoever gives up his right, or extends his claim too far, is no more a king, but either a ſlave to the people, or a tyrant, and ſo becomes either odious or contemptible to his ſubjects. The one ſeems to be the fault of eaſineſs and good nature, the other of pride and ſeverity.

If the calamities of mankind are not to be imputed entirely to fortune, but to be aſcribed to the difference of their manners and paſſions, both Theſeus and Romulus are chargeable with the effects of that blind and furious reſentment which one of them ſhowed towards his brother, and the other towards his ſon. But if we conſider the firſt motives of theſe paſſions, he is moſt excuſable who was tranſported by a ſtronger cauſe, like one overthrown by a more violent blow. Thus Romulus † having diſagreed with his brother, only in their deliberations concerning public affairs, one would think

* Where is the virtue of that princeſs who fell in love with a ſtranger the very firſt time ſhe ſaw him, betrayed both her father and her country for his ſake, and received him into her arms polluted with the blood of her brother Deucalion, whom he had ſlain with his own hands?

† Plutarch's reaſoning is certainly very juſt. It is not eaſily to be conceived how a man can be hurried into ſuch an extravagance of paſſion in a council of ſtate, where the public weal is the ſubject of their deliberations. But Plutarch does not ſeem to have hit upon the real motives of the con-

think he could not on a ſudden have been ſo much inflamed with paſſion; but love, and jealouſy, and the complaints of his wife, (incitements which few are able to withſtand), urged Theſeus to commit that outrage upon his ſon. And what is more, Romulus in his anger committed an action of moſt unfortunate conſequence; but the anger of Theſeus ended only in words, reproaches, and an old man's curſes; the reſt of the youth's miſery ſeems to have proceeded from fortune. Thus far Theſeus ſeems to deſerve the preference.

But Romulus has firſt of all this great advantage, that his performances proceeded from very ſmall beginnings; for both the brothers being thought ſervants, and the ſons of herdſmen, before they were freemen themſelves gave liberty to almoſt all the Latins, obtaining at once all the moſt honourable titles, as deſtroyers of their country's enemies, preſervers of their friends and kindred, princes and founders of a new city; whereas Theſeus only built one place of habitation out of many, demoliſhing many cities which bore the names of ancient kings and heroes. It is true, Romulus did the ſame afterwards, forcing his enemies to deſtroy their own dwellings, and to live with their conquerors; but at firſt he did not remove or increaſe a city that was founded before, but built one entirely from the ground; acquiring likewiſe to himſelf lands, a country, a kingdom, wives, children, and relations. He deſtroyed no

teſt betwixt Romulus and Remus: for, in the firſt place, the public was no way concerned in the debate on which of the mounts the city ought to be built; their ambition only was intereſted in it, and the point conteſted between them was, which of the two ſhould be maſter of Rome. In the next place, we are to conſider, that this was not the real motive of Romulus's violent tranſport; he was out of all patience when he perceived Remus did not only ridicule his works, but added inſult to raillery, leaping over the ditch by way of contempt, pretending thereby to foretel that the enemy would demoliſh the walls. So that it is to be doubted whether Romulus had not more cauſe to be enraged at his brother, than Theſeus at his ſon.

one,

one, but encouraged thoſe that wanted houſes and habitations, if willing, to join in a ſociety, and become citizens. He did not kill robbers and malefactors; but he ſubdued nations, he overthrew cities, he triumphed over kings and princes. And as to his brother, it is doubtful by whoſe hand he fell; his death is generally imputed to others. His mother he apparently retrieved from death, and placed his grandfather, who was brought under baſe and diſhonourable vaſſalage, on the ancient throne of Æneas; and he voluntarily did him many good offices, but never injured him, no not even through ignorance or inadvertency. But Theſeus, in his forgetfulneſs of the command concerning the flag, can ſcarcely, in my opinion, by any excuſes, or before the mildeſt judges, avoid the imputation of parricide; ſo that a certain Athenian, perceiving it very hard to defend him, feigns, that Ægeus, at the arrival of the ſhip, running haſtily to a tower to take a view of it, fell down; as if it could be ſuppoſed that Ægeus ran to the ſea-ſide without being attended or followed by any one. As to the faults committed with regard to women, they admit of no plauſible excuſe in Theſeus: firſt, on account of the frequent repetition of the crime; for he ſtole Ariadne, Antiope, Anaxo the Trœzenian, and at laſt Helen, when he was of ſuch an age that he ſhould have declined even lawful wedlock, and ſhe was too young to be marriageable. Then on account of the cauſe; for the Trœzenian, Lacedæmonian, and the Amazonian virgins, beſide that they were not betrothed to him, were not worthier to raiſe children by than the Athenians, who were derived from Erectheus and Cecrops. But it is to be ſuſpected, theſe things were done merely to gratify a licentious wanton appetite. Whereas Romulus, having ſeized near eight hundred women, took not all of them, but only Herſilia, as it is ſaid, for himſelf;

ſelf; the reſt he divided among the chief men of the city; and afterwards, by the reſpect, love, and kindneſs ſhown towards them, he diſcovered, that this violence and injury was a moſt commendable and politic exploit to eſtabliſh a ſociety. By this he intermixed and united both nations; and this was the ſource of their friendſhip afterwards, and of all their future power. To how great a degree that chaſtity, love, and conſtancy in marriage, eſtabliſhed by him, prevailed, time can witneſs; for, in 230 years *, neither durſt any huſband deſert his wife, nor any wife her huſband: but as curious men among the Grecians can tell the firſt man that killed his father or mother, ſo the Romans all well know, that Spurius Carvilius was the firſt who put away his wife, accuſing her of barrenneſs †. The ſame thing alſo appears from the immediate effects, as well as from length of time; for, upon thoſe marriages, the two princes ſhared in the dominion, and both nations fell under the ſame government. But from the marriages of Theſeus, the Athenians gained no advantage of alliance and friendſhip; but the conſequence was enmity and war, the ſlaughter of citizens, and at laſt the loſs of the city Aphidnæ; which, only from the compaſſion of the enemy, whom the inhabitants ſupplicated and honoured like gods, narrowly eſcaped ſuffering what Troy did by Paris. Theſeus's mother was not only in danger, but actually ſuffered as Hecuba did, in being deſerted by her ſon; if the ſtory of her captivity be

* Theſe numbers are wrong in Plutarch; for Dionyſius ſays, it was 520 after the building of Rome, and A. Gellius 519.

† This he ſwore before the Cenſors, declaring at the ſame time, that he loved his wife with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and parted with her only in compliance with the oath he had taken in form when he married, wherein he proteſted that the end of his marrying was to have children. Yet this did not hinder his character from being ever after very odious to the people, who thought he had ſet a very pernicious example.

not a fiction, as I could wiſh both that and moſt other things related of Theſeus were. As to what is told concerning both of them of a ſupernatural kind, there is a great difference in it: for Romulus was preſerved by the ſpecial favour of heaven; but the oracle given to Ægeus, commanding him to abſtain from all foreign women, ſeems to demonſtrate, that the birth of Theſeus was not agreeable to the will of the gods.

THE LIFE OF LYCURGUS.

THere is nothing to be related concerning Lycurgus that is certain and uncontroverted. The accounts given of his family, his travels, his death, and eſpecially of the laws he made, and the commonwealth which he founded, are very different. But hiſtorians chiefly diſagree as to the age in which he lived; for * ſome of them ſay that he flouriſhed in the time of Iphitus, and that they two jointly contrived the order for † the ceſſation of arms during the ſolemnity of the Olympic games. Of this opinion was Ariſtotle the philoſopher, and for confirmation of it he alleges an inſcription of the name of Lycurgus upon one of the quoits uſed in

* This is founded upon a tradition, that Iphitus inſtituted the Olympian games 108 years before the firſt vulgar Olympiad, which commenced in the year of the world 3174, or 3938 of the Julian period, and 774 years before the Chriſtian æra; and that there had been twenty-ſeven Olympiads or 108 years before the vulgar computation by Olympiads began; but that no account was made of them, nor did they begin to compute by them till the twenty-eighth, in which Coræbus was conqueror; by which means no memorial is left of thoſe who prevailed in the twenty-ſeven that preceded. This is what we learn from Ariſtodemus, Phlegon, Syncellus, and others. Callimachus reckons only thirteen before that wherein Coræbus bore the prize. But I queſtion whether theſe authorities are to be relied upon.

† All warlike operations ceaſed in Greece, not only during the celebration of theſe, but likewiſe of the three other games, the Iſthmian, Pythic, and Nemæan.

thoſe

thoſe ſports *. But others, as † Eratoſthenes and Apollodorus, computing the time by the ſucceſſions of the Spartan kings, pretend to demonſtrate that he lived much earlier than the firſt Olympiad ‡. Timæus ‖ conjectures that as there were two + of this name, who lived at Sparta at different times, the one of them being much more famous than the other, men gave to him the glory of the exploits of both: the elder of the two, according to him, lived not long after Homer, and ſome even ſay that he had ſeen Homer. But that he was of great antiquity, may be gathered from a paſſage in Xenophon +, where he makes him contemporary with the Heraclidæ; not but that the very laſt kings of Sparta were Heraclidæ too: but he ſeems in that

* This argument would hold, if it could be proved that the Lycurgus whoſe name was inſcribed on the quoit was the ſame with the legiſlator; but as there were many of that name, it proves nothing.

† Eratoſthenes was an hiſtorian of Athens, and invited into Ægypt by Ptolemy Euergetes, who made him his library-keeper. He was preceptor to Callimachus, and a man of moſt extenſive learning. He was author of a great many books of hiſtory, chronology, and geography, and is often quoted by Strabo. Apollodorus was contemporary with Eratoſthenes. We have ſtill an abridgment of one of his books called *Apollodorus's library*, or *the origin of the gods*.

‡ One hundred and thirty years before the firſt Olympiad, according to the vulgar computation. This computation agrees pretty nearly with that of Strabo, who ſays that Lycurgus certainly lived in the fifth generation after Althemenes, who led a colony into Crete. Now, this Althemenes was the ſon of Ciſſus, who founded Argos at the ſame time that Patrocles, Lycurgus's anceſtor in the fifth degree, laid the foundations of Sparta. So that Lycurgus flouriſhed ſome ſhort time after Solomon, about the year of the world 3050, 900 years before the birth of our Saviour.

‖ Timæus the Sicilian lived in the time of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus. He wrote the hiſtory of Sicily, of Italy, and Greece.

+ The laſt of theſe was he who dethroned his colleague Ageſipolis the third of that name. He alſo was deſcended from Hercules. Theſe two Lycurgus's were of very different tempers, one of them reſtored the kingdom to his nephew, in which kingdom the other could not endure a partner.

+ The paſſage here quoted is in Xenophon's treatiſe of the republic of Lacedæmon, from whence Plutarch has borrowed every thing that is moſt material in this life of Lycurgus.

place

place to call thoſe Heraclidæ who were the firſt and more immediate ſucceſſors of Hercules. But, notwithſtanding this confuſion and obſcurity of writers, we ſhall endeavour to compoſe the hiſtory of his life, ſetting down thoſe paſſages which are leaſt controverted, and following thoſe authors who are moſt worthy of credit.

The poet Simonides ſays, that Lycurgus was the ſon of Prytanis, and not of Eunomus; but almoſt all other writers deduce their genealogy in this manner. Ariſtodemus, Patrocles, Soüs, Eurytion, Prytanis, Eunomus, who by his firſt wife had a ſon named *Polydectes*, and by his ſecond wife Dianaſſa, had *Lycurgus*. But Eutychidas ſays, Lycurgus was the ſixth from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. Soüs was the moſt renowned of all his anceſtors; under his conduct the Spartans ſubdued * the Helotes, and added to their dominions a conſiderable extent of country which they wreſted from the Arcadians. It is related of Soüs, that being beſieged by the Clitorians in a dry and ſtony place, ſo that he could come at no water, he made this agreement, that he would reſtore to them all his conqueſts, provided that himſelf and all his men ſhould drink of a ſpring not far diſtant from his camp. After the uſual oaths and ratifications, he called his ſoldiers together, and offered to him that would forbear drinking, his kingdom for a reward; but not one man of them was able to forbear. When they had all drank, Soüs himſelf came to the ſpring, and having ſprinkled his face only, he marched off in ſight of the enemy, refuſing to yield up his conqueſts, becauſe they had not all drank of the water.

* The Ilotes, or Helotes, were the inhabitants of Helos, a maritime town in Laconia. The Spartans having ſubdued them, gave the ſame name to all others who afterwards fell under the ſame misfortune, for all their ſlaves in general were called *Helotes*.

Although

Although he was juſtly had in admiration by his ſubjects upon this account *, yet was not his family ſurnamed from him, but from his ſon Eurytion, from whom they were called *Eurytionides*. The reaſon of this was, that Eurytion took a different courſe from his predeceſſors, which was to flatter his ſubjects, by ſlackening the reins of the royal authority. But the people, by this remiſſneſs, growing bolder in their incroachments, the ſucceeding princes partly became odious by governing with greater rigour; and partly, by making further conceſſions either from good nature or want of power, ſunk into contempt; ſo that the whole kingdom of Sparta continued in anarchy and confuſion for a long time. This was the cauſe of the death of one of their kings, the father of Lycurgus; for as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, he received a wound with a knife, of which he died. He left the kingdom to his eldeſt ſon Polydectes; but he too dying ſoon after, the right of ſucceſſion, as every one thought, reſted in Lycurgus; and he reigned until it was known that the queen, his ſiſter-in-law, was with child. But as ſoon as ever he had notice of this, he immediately declared that the kingdom belonged to her iſſue, provided it were male, and he himſelf exerciſed the regal juriſdiction only as his guardian. Such guardians of infant kings the Lacedæmonians call *prodicoi*. Soon after an overture was privately made to him by the Queen, that ſhe would deſtroy her child, upon condition that he would marry her when he came to the crown. Though he was extremely incenſed againſt the woman for this unnatural propoſal, he pretended to approve it, but diſſuaded her earneſtly from procuring a miſcarriage, becauſe the violent means

* For till the reign of Eurytion this family was called the family of the *Procleides*, or *Patrocleides*, from Patrocles, or Procles, the father of Soüs.

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uſed in ſuch caſes would impair her health, if not endanger her life; and aſſured her that he would take care that the child, as ſoon as born, ſhould be deſtroyed. By theſe artifices, having drawn on the woman to the time of her lying-in, as ſoon as ever he heard that ſhe was in labour, he ſent ſome of his council to be preſent at her delivery, with orders, that if it were a girl, they ſhould give it to the women; but if a boy, that they ſhould bring it to him where-ever he was, or however employed. It happened, that as he was at ſupper with his principal magiſtrates, the queen was brought to bed of a boy, who was ſoon after preſented to him as he was at table: he, taking him into his arms, ſaid to thoſe about him, *Spartans, ſee here your new-born king*. He then laid him down upon the chair of ſtate, and named him *Charilaus*, that is, *the joy of the people*; becauſe they were all tranſported with joy, and ſtruck with admiration of the generoſity and juſtice of Lycurgus. His reign laſted only eight months. But he was in other reſpects a prince highly honoured by his citizens, and there were more who obeyed him, on account of his eminent virtues, than becauſe he was guardian to the king, and had the royal authority depoſited in his hands. Yet could not all this enſure him from envy, and a party was ſoon formed to oppoſe his authority; the heads of it were the kindred and friends of the queen-mother, who pretended that ſhe had been injuriouſly treated; and her brother Leonidas, in a warm debate which happened betwixt him and Lycurgus, went ſo far as to tell him, *that he was very well aſſured that ere long he ſhould ſee him king*. By this he endeavoured to make the people jealous, and to prepare the way for a future accuſation of Lycurgus, as the murderer of his nephew, if he ſhould happen to die. Inſinuations of the ſame kind were likewiſe ſpread by the queen-mother and her adherents.

Lycurgus

Lycurgus being exceedingly troubled at this, and fearing the conſequence, determined to avoid their ſuſpicion by a voluntary exile, and travel from place to place till his nephew came to marriageable years, and by having a ſon had ſecured the ſucceſſion. Setting ſail therefore with this reſolution, he firſt arrived at Crete, where he ſtudied the Cretan laws and government, and made an acquaintance with the principal men of the country. Some of their laws he much approved, and reſolved to make uſe of them in his own country; others he rejected. Amongſt the perſons there, the moſt renowned for their ability and wiſdom in political affairs, was * Thales, whom Lycurgus, by repeated importunities, and aſſurances of friendſhip, at laſt perſuaded to go over to Lacedæmon. When he came thither, though he profeſſed only to be a lyric poet, in reality he performed the part of the ableſt legiſlator. The very ſongs which he compoſed were pathetic exhortations to obedience and concord; and the ſweetneſs of the muſic, and the cadence of the verſe, had ſo powerful and ſo pleaſing an effect upon the hearers, that they were inſenſibly ſoftened and civilized; and at laſt renouncing their mutual feuds and animoſities, united in the love of humanity and good order. So that it may truly be ſaid, that Thales prepared the way for Lycurgus, by diſpoſing the people to receive his inſtitutions.

From Crete he ſailed to Aſia, that by comparing the Cretan way of living, which was very frugal and auſtere, with that of the Ionians, which was very expenſive and luxurious †, he might the better

* Plutarch ſeems to confound this Thales with Thales the Mileſian, one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, who lived in the time of Crœſus and Solon. This Thales of whom Plutarch ſpeaks was a poet and muſician, and lived 250 years before Thales the philoſopher.

† The Ionians, inhabitants of Attica, ſent a colony into Aſia Minor about 1050 years before the

ter judge of the difference which this made in their manners and form of government: juſt as phyſicians compare bodies that are healthy and robuſt with ſuch as are weak and ſickly. Here * probably he had the firſt ſight of Homer's works, which were preſerved by the poſterity of Creophylus †; and obſerving that they were not leſs to be admired for the excellent moral and political inſtructions which they contained, than for the beauties and graces of the poetry, he ſet himſelf eagerly to tranſcribe and collect them together, with a deſign to bring them home to his own country. For though before this time theſe poems began to be known in Greece, yet only ſome particular pieces were in a few private hands; ‡ the whole poem being confuſedly ſcattered about in fragments. But Lycurgus was the firſt who brought it into general reputation.

the birth of our Saviour, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all that tract of land that lies between Caria and Lydia, and called it *Ionia*. This migration happened about 150 years before Lycurgus. But was it poſſible they ſhould become ſo degenerate in ſo ſhort a time? It ſeems to me that the firſt Mileſians were much decried for their fierceneſs and auſterity; and I believe it will be no difficult thing to prove that they did not ſink into that effeminacy and corruption, for which they became a proverb, till after the reign of Cyrus.

* He adds *probably*, becauſe ſome Greek authors have affirmed that he had ſeen Homer, who was at that time at Chios. Plutarch's opinion is more to be relied on. Homer died before Lycurgus was born.

† This Creophylus had been Homer's hoſt.

‡ Before Lycurgus's time they had nothing in Greece of Homer but ſome detached pieces of his writings, which were ſeverally named from the different ſubjects treated of in them; ſuch as Diomedes's valour, Hector's ranſom, and the like. But we are not to infer from thence, that Homer's poems were originally no other than detached pieces, and afterwards joined together, though they had no natural connection; as a modern author has pretended, for want of rightly underſtanding a paſſage in the fourteenth chapter of the ſeventh book of Ælian. Before the Æneid was publiſhed, the Romans had in their hands ſeveral of the epiſodes, as for inſtance that of Marcellus, thoſe of Dido, Mezentius, *&c.*; and yet have we the leaſt reaſon to conclude from thence, that theſe were not parts of a poem, which being incorporated all together made one regular and uniform body?

The

The Egyptians likewiſe ſay that he took a voyage into Egypt, and that, being much pleaſed * with their way of ſeparating the ſoldiery from the reſt of the people, he reſolved to imitate them at Lacedæmon: and this diſtinction of the military men from thoſe of low and mechanical employments, rendered the conſtitution much more regular and beautiful. This ſtory of the Egyptians is confirmed by ſome of the Greek hiſtorians alſo. But as for his voyages into Spain, Africa, and the Indies †, and his conferences there with the Gymnoſophiſts, the whole relation, as far as I can find, reſts on the ſingle credit of Ariſtocrates ‡, the ſon of Hipparchus.

Lycurgus, during his abſence, was much regretted at Lacedæmon, and a great many embaſſies were ſent to entreat him to return. For the people found that their kings only wore the habit, and aſſumed the titles of royalty, but, in the qualities of their minds, had nothing by which they were to be diſtinguiſhed from their ſubjects; whereas Lycurgus, by that natural authority and power of perſuaſion which he poſſeſſed, ſhowed that he was born to rule. Nor were the kings themſelves averſe to his return; for they looked upon his preſence as a bulwark for them againſt the inſolence of the people.

* The whole country was divided into diſtinct quarters called *Nomoi*, a certain number of which were aſſigned to each corporation or company, which were ſeven in all, and of which the whole ſtate was compoſed, *viz.* the prieſts, ſoldiers, herdſmen, ſhepherds, merchants, interpreters, and ſeamen. The martial men were called *Calaſyrians* and *Hermotybians*, and were not allowed to exerciſe any other profeſſion but that of arms, which they were taught from father to ſon.

† How can it be ſaid that Lycurgus ever travelled into India, when we are told that Alexander was the firſt that ſhowed the Greeks the way thither above five hundred years after Lycurgus? For as for the expeditions of Bacchus, and Hercules, they are mere fables without any manner of foundation.

‡ He wrote the hiſtory of Lacedæmon, the fourth book of which is quoted by Athenæus.

Things being in this poſture at his return, he reſolved immediately to make a thorough reformation, and to change the whole face of the commonwealth; thinking it availed little to alter ſome particular laws, unleſs he acted as phyſicians do with a diſtempered conſtitution, who by force of medicines expel all the morbid humours, change the whole temperament of the body, and ſo prepare the way for a new regimen and diet. Having thus determined, he went to Delphi to conſult Apollo; which having done, and having offered his ſacrifice, he returned with that celebrated oracle, in which the propheteſs called him *Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man*, and told him, that as to his requeſt that he might be authoriſed by the oracle to eſtabliſh good laws, Apollo granted it, and promiſed to make the commonwealth which obſerved them the moſt famous in the world. Encouraged by theſe things, he ſet himſelf to bring over to his ſide the leading men of Sparta, exhorting them to give him their aſſiſtance in his undertaking. He communicated it firſt to his particular friends, and then by degrees he gained others; at laſt he animated them all together to put his deſign in execution. When things were ripe for action, he ordered thirty of the principal men of Sparta to be ready armed in the market-place by break of day, that he might ſtrike a terror into the oppoſite party. Hermippus * has ſet down the names of twenty of the moſt eminent of them; but the name of him whom Lycurgus moſt confided in, and who was of moſt uſe to him, both in making his laws, and putting them in execution, was Arithmiadas. At the beginning of the tumult, Charilaus apprehending that it was a conſpiracy againſt his perſon, took

* Hermippus was a native of Smyrna, and diſciple of Callimachus; he wrote the lives of ſeveral philoſophers and legiſlators.

ſanctuary

ſanctuary in the temple called *Chalcioicus* *. Being ſoon after undeceived, and having taken an oath of them that they had no treaſonable deſigns, he quitted his refuge, and himſelf alſo entered into the confederacy with them. For he was of ſo gentle a diſpoſition, that Archelaus, his partner in the government, hearing him highly extolled for his goodneſs, ſaid, *How can Charilaus be a good man, who cannot be ſevere even to the worſt of men?*

Amongſt the many alterations which Lycurgus made, the firſt and moſt important was the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate, which having a power equal to the kings in matters of conſequence, did (as Plato † expreſſes it) ſoften and qualify the im-

* *i. e.* The *Brazen temple.* This temple was ſtanding in Pauſanias's time, who lived in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.

† The paſſage to which Plutarch alludes is in Plato's third book of laws. He there mentions three things in the conſtitution of the Lacedæmonian government, by which the people were ſecured from tyranny. The firſt is the diviſion of the royal family into two branches; the occaſion of which was this. Patrocles or Procles and Euryſthenes were twins, the ſons of Ariſtodemus, who died immediately after their birth. The Lacedæmonians being uncertain which was the eldeſt, ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi, which commanded them to appoint both the children kings. From this time the Lacedæmonians had two kings, one of whom was always a deſcendent of Patrocles, and the other of Euryſthenes. The ſecond ſecurity of the Lacedæmonians, mentioned by Plato, is the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate; the third is the appointment of the Ephori. We find him treating on the ſame ſubject in his eighth letter, where, after he has ſhown that the downfal of ſtates proceeds either from the greedy deſire of abſolute power in the prince, or an overfondneſs of liberty in the ſubject, he adds, that Lycurgus having obſerved that the kingdoms of Argos and Meſſene fell through the pride of their princes, who were degenerated into tyrants, was afraid leſt the ſame fate might one day happen to Lacedæmon; to prevent which calamity he inſtituted a ſenate, which was equally ſerviceable both to the kings and the people. Ariſtotle finds fault with this circumſtance in the inſtitution of the ſenate, that the ſenators were to continue for life; for as the mind grows old with the body, he thought it unreaſonable to put the fortunes of the citizens into the power of men who through age might become incapable of judging. He likewiſe thought it very unreaſonable that they were not made accountable for their actions.

perious and fiery genius of monarchy, by conſtantly reſtraining it within the bounds of equity and moderation. For the ſtate before had no firm baſis to ſtand upon, but leaned ſometimes towards an abſolute monarchy, and ſometimes towards a pure democracy; but this eſtabliſhment of the ſenate was to the commonwealth what the ballaſt is to a ſhip, and preſerved the whole in a juſt æquilibrium. For they always adhered to the kings, ſo far as to oppoſe a democracy, and on the other ſide aſſiſted the people to prevent tyranny. As for the number of twenty-eight, Ariſtotle is of opinion that it was fixed upon, becauſe there being thirty aſſociates at firſt with Lycurgus, two of them for want of courage abandoned the enterpriſe; but * Sphærus aſſures us that there were but twenty-eight who were privy to the deſign at firſt. Perhaps there is ſome myſtery in the number, † which conſiſts of ſeven multiplied by four, and is the firſt number after ſix, that is equal to all its parts. But I rather think that Lycurgus pitched upon the number of twenty-eight ſenators, that, the two kings being reckoned amongſt them, they might be thirty in all. So eagerly bent was Lycurgus upon this eſtabliſhment, that he conſulted the oracle at Delphi upon the occaſion, and obtained that anſwer called *Rhetra*, or *the decree*, which is as follows. *After you have built a temple to Jupiter the* ‡ *Syllanian, and to Minerva the Syllanian,*

* He was Zeno's diſciple, and contemporary with Ptolemy Euergetes. He wrote the lives of the Eretrian philoſophers, ſo called from *Eretria* a town in *Eubœa*. He wrote likewiſe the life of Lycurgus, and that of Socrates, and is quoted as the author of a treatiſe concerning the commonwealth of Lacedæmon.

† The numbers 7 and 4 were each eſteemed to be of great perfection; therefore 28 which is the product of them, muſt unite in it the virtues of both. The other property he mentions is this: the aliquot parts of 28 are 1, 2, 4, 7, 14, which added together make 28; ſo the aliquot parts of 6 are 1, 2, 3, the ſum of which is 6. No number leſs than 6, or between 6 and 28, has this property.

‡ The word *Syllanian* being unintelligible,

Syllanian, and after you have divided the people into tribes and claſſes, you ſhall eſtabliſh a council of thirty ſenators, in the number of which the two kings ſhall be comprized; and you ſhall from time to time call the people to an aſſembly betwixt Babyca and Cnacion; and they ſhall have the ſupreme power of determination. Babyca and Cnacion are now called *Oenus*, though Ariſtotle ſays that Cnacion was a river and Babyca a bridge, and that between theſe their aſſemblies were held, as they had no ſpacious building richly adorned to receive them in. For Lycurgus was of opinion that this kind of magnificence was ſo far from being an advantage to their counſels, that it was rather an hinderance, by tempting the people to neglect the buſineſs of their meeting, and to employ their attention upon the ſtatues, pictures, ſplendid roofs, and theatrical ornaments which they ſaw around them *.

The people being thus aſſembled, it was not allowed to any one of their order to give his advice, but only either to ratify or reject what ſhould be propounded to them by the kings or ſenate. But becauſe it happened afterwards, that the people, by adding or omitting, would ſometimes change the words and pervert the ſenſe of the laws, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inſerted into the Rhetra the following clauſe; *That if the people ſhould alter or pervert any law, then the ſenate and kings ſhould reject it:* and this paſſed among the people for as divine a precept as the reſt of the Rhetra, as appears by theſe verſes of Tyrtæus †.

intelligible, ſome conjecture that it ſhould be read *Sellaſian* from *Sellaſia* a town in Laconia; others preſer *Hellanian*, which ſignifies Greek, and ſuppoſe that Jupiter and Minerva are here repreſented as the patrons of all Greece.

* In the later times of the Spartan republic, buildings were erected for their public aſſemblies.

† Tyrtæus lived about the twenty-fifth Olympiad. He ſo animated the Spartans by his verſes, that they obtained a ſignal victory over the Meſſenians, by whom they had been many times defeated before.

Hear Spartans, and obey the voice divine
That iſſues from Apollo's ſacred ſhrine.
Let kings the guardians of the Spartan name,
And awful ſenates, righteous ſtatutes frame;
Theſe let th' aſſenting people ratify,
And keep unbroken order's ſacred tie.

Although Lycurgus had in this manner regulated and tempered the conſtitution of the republic, yet thoſe who ſucceeded him found that too much power was allowed to the kings and ſenate, in conſequence of which they grew imperious and oppreſſive; and therefore, as Plato ſays, a bridle was put upon them, which was the power of the Ephori, eſtabliſhed 130 years after the death of Lycurgus. Elatus was the firſt who had this dignity conferred upon him, in the reign of Theopompus, who, when his queen upbraided him one day, that he would leave the regal power to his children leſs than himſelf had received it from his anceſtors, replied, that he ſhould it leave it greater, becauſe more durable *. For the prerogative being thus kept within reaſonable bounds †, the kings of Sparta

* The word *ephorus* ſignifies *an inſpector*. They were five in number, and continued in their office one year. Ariſtotle very much condemned this conſtitution of the Ephori. In the firſt place, he thought their authority too extenſive; for the kings themſelves were obliged to make their court to them. In the next place, he could by no means approve of their being choſen from among the people, which was the way to have many of them corrupt, and mercenary, as it often proved. Thirdly, he thought it a ridiculous thing for men without learning, and of no education, to be allowed to decide according to their own will, and not by written laws. Laſtly, he condemned the conduct of the Ephori in their way of living, which being very diſſolute and licentious, inſenſibly undermined the auſtere rules impoſed on the other citizens. The Ephori occaſioned the ſame diſorders at Sparta, which the tribunes of the people did at Rome. Notwithſtanding all this, it cannot be denied, that Theopompus, by moderating the royal authority, made the government of Sparta more durable. See the ſixth book of Ariſtotle's politics, chap. 11.

† This might have been effected by the authority of the ſenate, without having recourſe to the

Sparta were ſecured both from envy and danger; and never were expoſed to thoſe calamities which the kings of Meſſena and Argos ſuffered, becauſe they would not in the leaſt relax their power in favour of the people.

Indeed, whoever reflects on the ſeditions and civil wars which happened in theſe bordering nations, (to * whom the Spartans were as nearly related in blood as ſituation), will find good reaſon to admire the profound wiſdom and foreſight of Lycurgus: for theſe three ſtates in their firſt riſe were equal; or, if there were any advantage, it lay on the ſide of the Meſſenians and Argives †, who poſſeſſed a more fruitful country than the Spartans; yet was their proſperity but of ſhort continuance, they ſoon falling into confuſion, partly by the tyrannical diſpoſition of their kings, and partly by the ungovernableneſs of the people; thus making it appear to the whole world, that it was one of the greateſt bleſſings which heaven could beſtow upon the Spartans, to give them ſo wiſe a lawgiver, who could ſo exquiſitely frame and temper the conſtitution of their commonwealth. But theſe things happened long after.

When he had appointed the thirty ſenators, his next taſk, and indeed the moſt hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new diviſion of the

the Ephori, who were the cauſe of fatal ſeditions in Sparta; for in one of them they killed Agis, and were themſelves killed at laſt by Cleomenes.

* He ſays Argos and Meſſene were related to Sparta, becauſe the founders of thoſe three cities were all the deſcendents of Hercules; Argos and Meſſene were founded by the two brothers Temenus and Creſphontes; and Sparta by their two nephews Euryſthenes and Patrocles, the ſons of Ariſtodemus.

† The ſoil of Argos and Meſſena was much more kindly than that of Sparta. Euripides ſays ſomewhere, that Laconia was of a large extent, but that the land was not fit for tillage by reaſon of the many mountainous parts in it; whereas there is no country in Greece more fertile and profitable than Meſſenia, whoſe land is watered by a great many brooks, and abounds with every kind of paſture. The ſame was to be ſaid of Argos. See Strabo, lib. 8.

lands.

lands. For there was a very ſtrange inequality among the inhabitants of Sparta; ſo that the city was overcharged with a multitude of neceſſitous perſons, whilſt the lands and money were ingroſſed by a few. Therefore, that he might baniſh out of the commonwealth luxury and arrogance, and envy and fraud, together with thoſe more fatal and inveterate diſtempers of a ſtate, wealth and poverty, he perſuaded the people to reduce the whole country to a common ſtock, to conſent to a new diviſion of the land, and to live all in perfect equality, allowing the pre-eminence to virtue only, and conſidering no other difference or inequality between one man and another, but what the diſgrace of doing baſe actions, or credit of doing worthily, created.

Having got their conſent to his propoſals, he immediately put them in execution. He divided the whole country of Laconia into thirty thouſand equal ſhares, and the territory of the city of Sparta into nine thouſand; and theſe he diſtributed to the inhabitants of the city, as he did the others to them who dwelt in the country. Some authors ſay that he made but ſix thouſand lots for the citizens of Sparta, and that King Polydore afterwards added three thouſand more. Others ſay that Polydore doubled the number Lycurgus had made, which, according to them, was but four thouſand five hundred. A lot was ſo much as to yield one year with another about ſeventy buſhels of grain for the maſter of the family, and twelve for his wife, with a ſuitable proportion of wine and other liquid fruits *. This was thought ſufficient to keep their bodies ſtrong and healthy; and they had no occaſion for ſuperfluities. It is reported,

* This ſeems a very unequal diſtribution; but we are to underſtand that ſo much was allotted to the huſband, who was maſter of the family, to enable him to maintain his children, and feed his other domeſtics.

that

that as he returned from a journey ſome time after the diviſion of the lands, in harveſt-time, the ground being newly reaped, obſerving the ſheaves to be all equal, he ſmilingly ſaid to thoſe about him, *Methinks Lacedæmon is like the inheritance of a great many brothers, who have newly made a diviſion of it among themſelves.*

Not contented with this, he reſolved to make a diviſion of their moveables too, that there might be no odious diſtinction or inequality left amongſt them; but finding that it would be very difficult to make them part with what they had directly, he took another courſe, and got the better of their avarice by this ſtratagem. Firſt, he commanded that all gold and ſilver coin ſhould be cried down, and that only a ſort of money made of iron ſhould be current, whereof a great weight and quantity was but very little worth: ſo that to lay up ten *minæ*, there was required a pretty large cloſet, and to remove it, nothing leſs than a yoke of oxen *. By this invention, many vices were baniſhed Lacedæmon. For who would rob or cheat another of ſuch a ſort of coin? Who would receive as a bribe a thing which a man could not conceal, and the poſſeſſion of which no one envied him? Nay even when cut in pieces, it was of no value; for when it was red-hot, they quenched it in vinegar, which rendered it ſo hard and brittle as to be unfit for any other uſe.

In the next place, he baniſhed all uſeleſs and ſu-

* Every piece weighed a pound, and went but for little. This regulation was of uſe no longer than whilſt the Spartans were ſatisfied with their own territories. When once they came to be engaged in foreign wars, their money being not paſſable in other countries, they found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to the Perſians, whoſe gold and ſilver dazzled their eyes; ſo that the ſame means by which Lycurgus made his city poor, rendered his citizens covetous, and their covetouſneſs was the occaſion of a proverb mentioned in Plato, *One may ſee a great deal of money carried into Lacedæmon, but one never ſees any of it brought out again.*

perfluous

perfluous arts. But moſt of theſe would have declined of themſelves after the prohibition of gold and ſilver, the money which remained being not ſo proper payment for curious pieces of workmanſhip; nor would it paſs among the other Grecians, who were ſo far from valuing it, that they deſpiſed and ridiculed it. Thus there was no trafficking in any foreign wares, neither did any merchants bring in their goods to any of their ports. Nor were there to be found in Laconia any teachers of rhetoric, any fortune-tellers or magicians, any of thoſe who feed the wanton appetites of youth, any goldſmiths, engravers, or jewellers, becauſe there was no money: ſo that luxury, being by degrees deprived of that which nouriſhed and ſupported it, was quite ſtarved out, and died away of itſelf. For the rich had no pre-eminence here over the poor, and their riches not being allowed to be ſhown in public, neceſſarily remained uſeleſs at home. Hence the Spartans became excellent artiſts in thoſe things which were neceſſary; ſo that bedſteads, chairs, tables, and ſuch like utenſils in a family, were admirably well made there; particularly the Laconic cup called *cothon*, was very much prized by ſoldiers, as Critias reports; for the colour of the cup hindered the muddineſs of the dirty water (which, though ſhocking to the ſight, yet muſt upon marches often be drank) from being perceived; and the figure of it was ſuch, that the mud was ſtopped by the ſwelling of the ſides, ſo that only the pureſt part of the water came to the mouth of him that drank it. And this ſkill of theirs was owing to their lawgiver: for the artiſans being diſengaged from every thing uſeleſs, were at leiſure to ſhow their utmoſt ſkill in thoſe things which were of daily and indiſpenſable uſe.

In order more effectually to ſuppreſs luxury and exterminate the deſire of riches, he contrived another moſt excellent inſtitution, which was that of public

public tables, where they were all to eat in common, of the ſame meat, and of ſuch kinds as were ſpecified in the law *. They were expreſsly forbid to eat at home upon rich couches and magnificent tables, to ſuffer themſelves to be pampered by their butchers and cooks, and to fatten in private like voracious beaſts †. For ſuch intemperate gratifications not only corrupt the manners, but enfeeble the bodies of men; ſo that they need long ſleep, hot baths, much reſt, and the ſame care and attendance as if they were continually ſick. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about ſuch an enterpriſe as this; but a greater yet to have effected, by this eating in common and uſing a very frugal diet, that their riches ſhould be privileged from the hands of rapine, nay rather, as Theophraſtus obſerves, ſhould be utterly degraded, loſing almoſt their very nature, ſo as no longer to be the objects of envy. For the rich being obliged to partake of the ſame fare with the poor, they could not uſe or enjoy their riches, nor make a ſhow of them to the world. So that the common proverb, That Plutus is blind, was no where ſo literally verified as in Sparta: for there he was kept not only blind, but rather like a mere image, ſenſeleſs and motionleſs. Nor could they take any refreſhment in private before they came to the public halls; for every one had an eye upon thoſe

* They made their meals in their armour, that they might be ready upon all occaſions to receive orders, and put them in execution. This eſtabliſhment was of uſe ſo long as there were no more citizens than ſhares of land; but when the number of the firſt increaſed, thoſe families who were burthened with children, were not in a condition to furniſh their quota to the public repaſts, which drew upon the city the calamity Lycurgus would have prevented, that is, a number of poor. He ought rather to have ordained that thoſe public tables ſhould have been maintained at the expenſe of the public; as it was done in Crete.

† This prohibition ſignified nothing when the Ephori were allowed to feaſt magnificently, and wallow in luxury; an example that did more harm to the public than the law could do good.

who

who did not eat and drink at the common table, and reproached them as luxurious and effeminate.

The rich men were ſo exaſperated by this regulation, that they made an inſurrection againſt Lycurgus, and proceeded ſo far at laſt, as to aſſault him with ſtones; ſo that he was forced to run out of the aſſembly, and fly to a temple to ſave his life. He outrun all the reſt, excepting one Alcander, a young man otherwiſe not ill diſpoſed, but very haſty and choleric, who came up ſo cloſe to him, that, whilſt he turned about to ſee who was near him, he ſtruck him with a ſtick, and beat out one of his eyes. Lycurgus, undaunted by this accident, ſtopt ſhort, and ſhowed his face ſtreaming with blood to his countrymen. They were ſo ſtrangely ſurpriſed and aſhamed to ſee it, that they immediately delivered Alcander into his hands, to be puniſhed as he ſhould think fit, conducting him home with the greateſt concern for this ill uſage. Lycurgus, having thanked them for their care of his perſon, diſmiſſed them all, excepting only Alcander. He took him into his houſe, but neither did nor ſaid any thing ſeverely to him; only diſmiſſing thoſe whoſe place it was, he ordered Alcander to wait upon him at table. The young man, who was of an ingenuous diſpoſition, without murmuring or repining did as he was commanded. Being thus near Lycurgus, and having an opportunity of obſerving the natural mildneſs of his temper, his extraordinary ſobriety and indefatigable induſtry, he became one of his moſt zealous admirers, and told his friends and companions, that Lycurgus was not a moroſe and ill-natured man, but of the ſweeteſt and moſt gentle diſpoſition. And thus did Lycurgus, for chaſtiſement of his fault, render a wild and paſſionate young man, one of the diſcreeteſt citizens of Sparta.

In memory of this accident Lycurgus built a temple

temple to Minerva, ſurnamed *Optilete*, from a word which in the Doric dialect, uſed in that country, ſignifies the *eyes*. But ſome authors, of whom Dioſcorides is one, who wrote a treatiſe of the commonwealth of Sparta, ſay, that he was wounded indeed, but did not loſe his eye by the blow; and that he dedicated that temple in gratitude for the cure. After this misfortune the Lacedæmonians never brought a ſtaff into their public aſſemblies.

Their public repaſts had ſeveral names in Greek; for the Cretans called them *Andria*; the Lacedæmonians called them *Phiditia*, that is, changing *l* into *d*, the ſame as *Philitia*, or feaſts of love, becauſe by eating and drinking together they had an opportunity of making friends; or elſe from *pheido*, which ſignifies *parſimony*, becauſe they were ſo many ſchools of ſobriety. But perhaps they were, by the addition of a letter, called *phiditia* inſtead of *editia*, from a word which ſignifies *to eat*. They met by companies of fifteen, or a few more or leſs; and each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a buſhel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheeſe, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy fleſh and fiſh withal. Beſides this, when any of them ſacrificed to the gods, they always ſent a dole to the common hall; and likewiſe when any one of them had been a-hunting, he ſent thither a part of the veniſon he had killed. It was an allowable excuſe for ſupping at home if a man had been ſacrificing or hunting; in all other caſes he was bound to appear. This cuſtom of eating together was obſerved ſtrictly for a great while afterwards, inſomuch that King Agis himſelf, having vanquiſhed the Athenians, and ſending for his commons at his return home *, becauſe he deſired to

* The kings of Sparta had always double commons allowed them, as Xenophon has obſerved; not that they were indulged to eat as

to eat privately with his queen, was refuſed by the Polemarchs *; which refuſal when he reſented ſo much as to omit the next day to offer the ſacrifice which was cuſtomary upon the happy concluſion of a war, they impoſed a fine upon him.

They uſed to ſend their children to theſe public tables, as to ſchools of temperance. Here they were inſtructed in political affairs by the diſcourſe of men of dignity and experience. Here they learned to converſe with cheerfulneſs and pleaſantry, to jeſt without ſcurrility, and to take no offence when the raillery was returned. To bear raillery well, was thought a character exceedingly becoming a Lacedæmonian; but if any man was uneaſy at it, upon the leaſt hint given there was no more to be ſaid to him. It was cuſtomary alſo for the eldeſt man in the company to ſay to each of them as they came in, pointing to the door, *Not a word ſaid in this company muſt go out there.* When any one had a deſire to be admitted into any of theſe ſocieties, he was to go through this manner of probation. Each man of that company took a little ball of ſoft bread, which he was to throw into a pitcher that a waiter carried round upon his head. Thoſe who liked the perſon propoſed to them, dropt their ball into the pitcher without altering the figure, and thoſe who diſliked him preſſed it flat betwixt their fingers, which ſignified as much as a negative voice. If there were but one of theſe flatted pieces found in the pitcher, the candidate was rejected; for they were deſirous that all the members of a ſociety ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied with each other.

as much again as the reſt, but that they might have an opportunity of ſharing it with ſome brave man whom they thought worthy of that honour.

* That is, thoſe who had commanded the army under the kings; for upon quitting, or being diſcharged from the ſervice, they were aſſigned to that office of carving or dividing the commons; which was of ſuch dignity, that none but the principal men in the ſtate were admitted to it.

Their

Their principal diſh was a ſort of black broth, which was ſo much valued, that the elderly men ſat by themſelves, and fed only upon that, leaving what fleſh there was to the younger. They ſay that a certain king of Pontus ſent for a Lacedæmonian cook, on purpoſe to make him ſome of this black broth. Upon taſting it he found it extremely diſagreeable; which the cook obſerving, ſaid, *Sir, to make this broth reliſh, you ſhould have bathed yourſelf firſt in the Eurotas* *. After having drank moderately, every man went home without lights; for they were utterly forbidden to walk with a light either upon this or any other occaſion, that they might accuſtom themſelves to march boldly in the dark †. And ſuch was the order of their common tables.

Lycurgus would never reduce his laws into writing; nay, it is expreſsly forbid in one of thoſe called the *Rhetræ*. For he thought, that if ſuch regulations as were moſt eſſential to the public happineſs and virtue were deeply impreſſed upon the minds of the people, they would become a firm and invariable principle of action to them, operating with ſuch irreſiſtible force, that they would need no other lawgiver than their education. As for things of leſs importance, ſuch as pecuniary contracts, and the like, the forms of which vary as occaſion requires, he thought it beſt to preſcribe no certain and inviolable rule, but to leave the manner and form of them to be altered according to the circumſtances of time, and the determinations of men who were well educated; for he eſteemed a good education the great end of all political inſtitutions.

* This ſtory is elſewhere related by Plutarch, and alſo by Cicero, of Dionyſius the tyrant of Sicily.

† Xenophon ſays, this prohibition affected only the younger ſort; who received this further advantage by it, that knowing they were not to lie where they ſupped, they were forced to keep themſelves ſober, that they might be in a condition to find the way home.

One of the Rhetræ was, as I have ſaid, that their laws ſhould not be written. Another of them is particularly levelled againſt luxury and expenſe. By that it was ordained, that the ceilings of their houſes ſhould only be wrought by the axe, and their gates and doors ſmoothed only by the ſaw, without uſing any other tool. For as Epaminondas afterwards ſaid of his table, *Treaſon will never come to ſuch a dinner as this*; ſo Lycurgus thought that ſuch houſes would never be capable of receiving luxury and ſuperfluity. For no man would be ſo abſurd as to bring into ſuch a houſe, bedſteads with ſilver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, or any ſuch magnificence; but all would neceſſarily proportion their beds to their houſes, and their coverlets to their beds, and make the reſt of their goods and furniture ſuitable to them. It is reported, that King Leotychidas, the firſt of that name, had been ſo little uſed to the ſight of other kind of work, that, being entertained at Corinth in a ſtately room, he was much ſurpriſed to ſee the timber and ceiling ſo finely wrought, and aſked his hoſt, *whether the trees grew ſquare in his country?*

A third ordinance or rhetra of Lycurgus, was, that they ſhould not make war often, or long, with the ſame enemy, leſt they ſhould inſtruct them in the art of war, by forcing them often to defend themſelves. And Ageſilaus was much blamed a long time after, for making ſuch continual incurſions into Bœotia, that at length he taught that people to make head againſt the Lacedæmonians*; and therefore Antalcidas, ſeeing him wounded one day, ſaid to him, *that he was very well paid for teaching the Thebans to be good ſoldiers whether they would or no.* And theſe laws were called *rhetræ*, to ſignify to the

* This appeared undeniably at the battle of Leuctra, where the Lacedæmonians were overthrown by Epaminondas, and loſt their King Cleombrotus, together with the flower of their army.

people

people that they had a divine original and authority *.

In order to the good education of their youth, (which, as I ſaid before, he thought the moſt important and nobleſt work of a lawgiver), he went ſo far back as to take into conſideration their very conception and birth, by regulating the marriages. For it is not true what Ariſtotle tells us of Lycurgus †, that after he had tried all ways to reduce the women to more modeſty and ſobriety, he was at laſt forced to leave them as they were, not being able to reſtrain the great liberties they took, and the ſuperiority which they aſſumed, on account of the frequent abſence of their huſbands, who ſpending the chief part of their lives in the wars ‡, their wives were left abſolute miſtreſſes at home, and therefore required from their huſbands an exceſſive deference and reſpect. But in reality Lycurgus took all poſſible care in the education of the women ‖. He ordered the maidens to exerciſe themſelves with wreſtling, running, throwing quoits and darts, that their bodies being ſtrong and vigorous, might produce a ſound and healthy offspring; and that by ſuch robuſt exerciſes they might be the better enabled to undergo the pains of childbearing with eaſe and ſafety. And that he might take away the exceſſive tenderneſs and delicacy of the ſex, he ordered that the virgins ſhould go naked as well as the young men, and dance and ſing in their preſence at certain ſolemn feaſts and ſacrifices. On theſe oc-

* The word *rhetræ* properly ſignified *the oracles of Apollo.*

† The paſſage alluded to here is in the ſeventh chapter of the ſecond book of Ariſtotle's politics.

‡ Their firſt wars were with the Argives, after that they fought with the Arcadians, and then with the Meſſenians.

‖ I am ſurpriſed to find Plutarch endeavouring to juſtify Lycurgus againſt the evidence of all antiquity, whereby it appears that the licentiouſneſs of the Spartan women was ſo great, that nothing could reſtrain it. This is confeſſed even by a Lacedæmonian in Plato's books *de legibus.*

caſions they now and then gave a ſatirical glance upon thoſe who had miſbehaved themſelves, and ſometimes ſung encomiums upon ſuch as had done any gallant action; and by theſe means inflamed the younger ſort with a noble emulation and love of glory. Thoſe who were thus praiſed for their bravery, and in high credit among the virgins, went away extremely ſatisfied with ſuch commendation; and thoſe who were rallied, were as ſenſibly touched with it as if they had been formally and ſeverely reprimanded; and ſo much the more, becauſe the kings and the whole ſenate, as well as the reſt of the city, went to ſee and hear all that paſſed. Now, though it may ſeem ſtrange that virgins ſhould appear thus naked in public, yet as the ſtricteſt modeſty was obſerved, and all wantonneſs excluded, there was nothing of indecency in it; but it accuſtomed them to an innocent ſimplicity, raiſed in them an emulation of having a vigorous conſtitution, and gave even their tender ſex a tincture of noble and manly courage *, as knowing that they were alſo to ſhare in the credit of valour and magnanimity. That dignity of ſentiment which was produced by theſe means, often appeared in their converſation. Of this we have an inſtance in Gorgo, the wife of King Leonidas, who, when a certain foreign lady ſaid to her, *You of Lacedæmon are the only women in the world who have an empire over the men*; replied, *And with good reaſon, for we are the only women that bring forth men.* Beſides, theſe public proceſſions of the maidens, and their appearing naked in their exerciſes and dancings, were provocations to allure the young men to marriage. For, as Plato ſays, *no geometrical concluſion can follow from*

* How did this courage appear, when Epaminondas, after the battle at Leuctra, went to attack Sparta? Then the women ran up and down in the utmoſt terror, filling the city with their ſhrieks, and were the cauſe of more diſorder and confuſion than the enemies themſelves.

the

the premiſſes ſo neceſſarily, as amorous inclinations muſt follow from ſuch an intercourſe. And to promote marriage more effectually, thoſe who continued bachelors were made infamous by law; for they were excluded from the ſight off thoſe public proceſſions in which the young women danced naked; nay, the magiſtrates compelled them to march naked themſelves round the market-place in the very depth of winter, ſinging a certain ſong to their own diſgrace, implying, that they juſtly ſuffered this puniſhment for diſobeying the laws. Beſides, they were denied that reſpect and obſervance which the younger ſort were obliged to pay to their elders; and therefore no man found fault with what was ſaid to Dercyllidas, though he was an eminent commander, who coming one day into company, a young man, inſtead of riſing and making room for him, told him, *Sir, you muſt not expect that honour from me now I am young, which cannot be returned to me by a child of yours when I am old.*

In their marriages the huſband carried off the bride by force; and ſhe was never choſen in a tender age, nor before ſhe was full grown and fit for marriage. After this, ſhe who managed the wedding ſhaved cloſe the hair of the bride, dreſſed her up completely in man's cloaths, and left her upon a mattreſs in the dark. Afterwards the bridegroom came ſober and compoſed, as having ſupped according to cuſtom at the common table, and entering privately into the room where the bride lay, untied her girdle, and carried her to another bed. In a ſhort time, he modeſtly retired to his own apartment, and ſlept with his companions as uſual; and continued to paſs both days and nights with them, never viſiting his bride but with great caution and privacy, while ſhe employed all her art in contriving opportunities for their meeting without danger of being obſerved. In this manner they lived a long time, inſomuch that they frequently had children by their

wives

wives before ever they ſaw their faces by day-light. Their interviews being thus difficult and rare, ſerved not only for a continual exerciſe of their temperance, but rendered their bodies more healthy and fruitful, and kept their paſſion ſtill alive, which flags and decays by too eaſy acceſs and long continuance with the beloved object; ſo that they always parted with regret, and with a ſtrong deſire of meeting again.

Having thus eſtabliſhed ſuch a ſtrict regard to decency in the marriage-ſtate, he was no leſs careful to baniſh from it that wild and womaniſh paſſion, jealouſy, by making it equally reputable for men to impart the uſe of their wives to deſerving perſons, as for them to avoid all licentious freedom in their own commerce with them; and he laughed at thoſe who think the violation of their bed ſuch an inſupportable affront, as to revenge it by murders and wars. Lycurgus allowed a man who was in years, and had a young wife, to recommend ſome virtuous handſome young man, that ſhe might have a child by him, who might inherit the good qualities of ſuch a father; and this child the huſband might claim as his own. On the other ſide, a worthy man who was in love with a married woman upon the account of her modeſty and the beauty of her children, was at liberty to beg of her huſband admiſſion to her, that thus by planting in a good ſoil, he might raiſe a generous progeny to poſſeſs all the valuable qualifications of their parents. For Lycurgus was of opinion, that children were not ſo much the property of their parents, as of the whole commonwealth; and therefore he would not have them begot by ordinary men, but by thoſe of the beſt endowments both of body and mind. And the laws of other nations ſeemed to him very defective and inconſiſtent; he thought it abſurd, that men ſhould be at great pains and expenſe to have their horſes and dogs of the fineſt breed,

breed, while they kept their wives ſhut up from all other men, though they themſelves were old, infirm, and doting; as if it were not apparent, that the honour or diſhonour of children, (who generally derive their good or ill qualities from thoſe that beget them), chiefly redounds to their parents, and thoſe who have the charge of their education. So long as theſe regulations, founded both on phyſical and political reaſons, were obſerved, the women were there ſo far from that ſcandalous liberty, which hath ſince been objected to them, that they knew not what the name of adultery meant. A proof of this we have in Geradas, a very ancient Spartan, who being aſked by a ſtranger, what puniſhment their law had appointed for adulterers? anſwered, *My friend, there are no adulterers in our country: But,* replied the ſtranger, *ſuppoſe there were one, how would you puniſh him?* he anſwered, *that the offender muſt forfeit a bull with a neck ſo long that he might drink of the river Eurotas from the top of Mount Taygetus.* The man ſurpriſed at this, ſaid, *Why, it is impoſſible to find ſuch a bull:* Geradas ſmilingly replied, *It is juſt as impoſſible to find an adulterer in Sparta.* Such were the regulations with regard to marriage.

It was not in the power of the father to diſpoſe of the child as he thought fit, but he was obliged to carry it to the place called *Leſche*, where ſome of the oldeſt men of the tribe were aſſembled; they carefully viewed the infant, and if they found it luſty an dwell-proportioned, they gave order for its education, and allotted to it one of the nine thouſand ſhares of land above mentioned for its maintenance; but if they found it deformed and ſickly, they ordered it to be caſt into the place called *Apothetæ*, which was a deep cavern in the earth near the mountain Taygetus; as thinking it neither for the good of the child itſelf, nor for the public intereſt, that it ſhould be brought up, ſince nature had denied it the means of happineſs and uſefulneſs,

uſefulneſs, by not giving it health nor ſtrength. Upon the ſame account the women did not bathe the new-born children with water, but with wine, to prove the ſtrength of their conſtitution, imagining that epileptic and weakly children preſently faint and die upon being thus bathed, and that, on the contrary, thoſe of a ſtrong and vigorous habit acquire a greater degree of firmneſs by it. Their nurſes too were ſo careful and expert, that, without uſing ſwaddling-bands, their children were all ſtraight and well proportioned; and beſides they uſed them to eat any ſort of meat, and not to be afraid in the dark, or of being alone, and never indulged them in crying, fretfulneſs, or ill humour. Upon this account Spartan nurſes were often bought by people of other countries; and it is reported, that Amycla who ſuckled Alcibiades the Athenian was a Spartan: but if he was fortunate in his nurſe, he was not ſo in his preceptor; for his guardian Pericles, as Plato tells us, choſe for that office one Zopyrus, who was nothing better than a common ſlave. Lycurgus would not intruſt the education of the Spartan youth to maſters who were bought or hired.

Nor was it lawful for the father himſelf to breed up the children after his own fancy; but as ſoon as they were ſeven years old, they were to be inrolled in certain companies and claſſes, where they all lived under the ſame order and diſcipline, performing their exerciſes and taking their recreations in common. Of theſe, he who ſhowed the moſt conduct and courage, was made captain; the reſt had their eyes always upon him, obeyed his orders, and underwent patiently whatſoever puniſhment he inflicted: ſo that the whole courſe of their education was one continued exerciſe of a ready and exact obedience. The old men too were ſpectators of their performances, and often raiſed quarrels among them, that they might have an opportunity of judging by their behaviour on theſe occaſions

which

which of them would afterwards ſhow the moſt courage and intrepidity in battle. As for learning, they gave them juſt as much as was neceſſary *; their chief care was to teach them to be good ſubjects, to endure labour, and to conquer their enemies. To this end, as they grew in years, their exerciſes were proportionably increaſed; their heads were ſhaved, they were accuſtomed to go barefoot, and for the moſt part to play naked.

After they were twelve years old, they were no longer allowed to wear double garments. One coat ſerved them a whole year: and they were far from being neat and cleanly in their perſons, for they ſeldom bathed or anointed themſelves; this elegance was allowed them only upon ſome few particular days of the year. Each company lodged together upon beds made of reeds, which they gathered themſelves upon the banks of the Eurotas; and becauſe their points were ſharp, they were to break them off with their hands without a knife: in winter, they mingled ſome thiſtle-down with their ruſhes; this was thought ſufficient to keep them warm.

When they were come to this age, every promiſing and well-diſpoſed youth had a lover †, to bear him company; the old men too obſerved them

* That is, as much as was neceſſary for men that had their thoughts wholly bent upon war; for which reaſon all the ſciences were baniſhed from Sparta. They had not ſo much as a phyſician or interpreter. When they had occaſion for any, they ſent for them from abroad; which made Thucydides, ſpeaking of Braſidas, ſay, *He ſpoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian.*

† Xenophon ſays, theſe lovers lived with thoſe who were beloved by them as a father does with his children, or a brother with his brethren. *I know however,* adds he, *there are many that will believe nothing of this, nor do I wonder at it; for the unnatural love of boys is become ſo common, that in many places it is authoriſed by the public laws.* This judicious writer ſays it is owing to the corruption and depravity of other nations, that they will not believe the Spartans can be touched with ſuch a love, and at the ſame time preſerve their modeſty and virtue.

with

with more care, coming often to the ſchools to hear and ſee them contend either in wit or ſtrength with one another: and this they did not for their own amuſement, but with as much concern as if they were their fathers, or their tutors; ſo that whereever they were, and at all times, they had ſome perſon preſent to admoniſh and correct them if they committed a fault.

Beſides this, there was always one of the beſt and ableſt men in the city appointed as a ſuperintendant over them; he choſe a captain for each company, who was always one of the moſt prudent and reſolute of thoſe they called *Irens*, who were uſually twenty years old; thoſe who were about eighteen, were called *Mellirens*. This young man therefore was their captain when they fought, and their maſter at home, uſing them to wait upon him as his ſervants, ſending the oldeſt among them to fetch wood, and the younger ones to gather herbs; and theſe they ſtole either out of gardens, or by conveying themſelves very cautiouſly and privately into the eating-houſes. If they were taken in the fact, they were ſeverely whipped for their negligence and want of dexterity. They ſtole too all other meat they could lay their hands on, watching all opportunities, when people were aſleep, or more careleſs than uſual. If they were caught, they were not only puniſhed with whipping, but hunger too: for their ordinary allowance was but very ſlender; and it was ſo contrived on purpoſe, that, being preſſed by hunger, they might be forced to exerciſe their courage and addreſs. And this was the principal deſign of their ſpare diet. But there was another ſubordinate intention, which was to make them grow tall; for the vital ſpirits not being overburdened and oppreſſed by too great a quantity of nouriſhment, (which neceſſarily extends itſelf into thickneſs and breadth), do by their natural lightneſs and activity mount upwards, ſo that the

the body, while it is pliable and yielding, muſt neceſſarily increaſe in length. And this likewiſe is thought to give a good ſhape: for the lean and ſlender conſtitutions of body do more eaſily follow the forming hand of nature; whereas thoſe which are groſs * and overfed, are ſtubborn and untractable. This we find by experience in women who take phyſic whilſt they are with child: for though the children be by that means made ſomething leaner, and of a leſs ſize, yet are they, for the moſt part, more delicately ſhaped; the remaining matter, after the ſeparation of the groſſer humours, being more ſupple and pliable, and more eaſily receiving its proper form. But whether this be the true reaſon or not, I leave to others to conſider. The Lacedæmonian children were ſo very cautious in their thefts, and ſo fearful of being diſcovered, that a youth having ſtolen a young fox, and hid it under his coat, ſuffered it to tear out his very bowels with its teeth and claws, and ſo died upon the place, rather than he would diſcover it. What is practiſed to this very day by the youth of Lacedæmon, is enough to gain credit to this ſtory; for I myſelf have ſeen ſeveral of them endure whipping to death at the foot of the altar of Diana †, ſurnamed *Orthia*.

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* The Lacedæmonians were ſo careful in hindering their youth from growing fat, that once in every ten days they paſſed naked in review before the Ephori, who chaſtiſed and fined ſuch whoſe bodies were not pliant and eaſy.

† It was pretended that this Diana was the Diana Taurica, whoſe ſtatue Oreſtes and Iphigenia ſtole and brought to Lacedæmon. Whilſt they were offering the firſt ſacrifice to her, after they had found her, a quarrel aroſe among the people aſſembled there on that occaſion, and a great deal of blood was ſhed. Upon this the oracle was conſulted, and returned for anſwer, *Let the altar of the goddeſs be ſprinkled with blood*; which made them offer to her every year a man choſen by lot for that purpoſe. At length this cuſtom was aboliſhed by Lycurgus, who, ſtill to keep up to the letter of the oracle, ordained that the altar ſhould be ſprinkled with the blood of ſome of the youth who were to be whipt round it. A woman preſided at this ſacrifice, and during the whole ceremony held in her hands the ſtatue of

The Iren, after ſupper, frequently bid one of them ſing a ſong: to another he put a queſtion, which required a judicious and deliberate anſwer; for example, Who was the beſt man in the city? What he thought of ſuch an action of ſuch a man? This accuſtomed them early to paſs a right judgment upon perſons and things, and to inform themſelves of the abilities or defects of their countrymen. If they had not an anſwer ready to this queſtion, What citizen was of good or ill reputation? they were looked upon as of a dull and careleſs diſpoſition, and to have little or no ſenſe of virtue and honour: beſides this, they were to give a good reaſon for their anſwer, and in as few words and as comprehenſive as might be. He that failed of this, or anſwered not to the purpoſe, had his thumb bit by the Iren. Sometimes the Iren did this in the preſence of the old men and magiſtrates, that they might ſee whether he puniſhed them juſtly and in due meaſure or not: and though he did amiſs, they would not reprove him while the boys were preſent, but when they were gone, he himſelf was called to an account, and underwent a correction too, if he had run far into either of the extremes of indulgence or ſeverity.

* Iheir lovers had a ſhare in the young lad's honour

the goddeſs, which was very ſmall and light. And yet, if they who had the whipping of the children, ſpared any of them in reſpect of their birth, the ſtatue grew ſo heavy that the prieſteſs could not ſupport it. This Diana was likewiſe called *Orthoſia*, and her feaſt was named διαμαστίγωσις, the *flagellation*.

* To the lovers they imputed the virtues, or the vices, which were obſerved in thoſe they loved; they commended them if the lads were virtuous, and fined them if they were otherwiſe. They likewiſe fined thoſe who had not made choice of any favourite. And here we may obſerve Lycurgus did not copy this inſtitution from the practice obſerved in Crete, thinking without doubt ſuch an example of too dangerous a tendency. That we may be the better able to judge of his prudence and caution in this point, let us ſee what Strabo writes concerning this cuſtom of the Cretans in his tenth book. When any one fell in love with a youth

honour or diſgrace: and it is ſaid that one of them was fined by the magiſtrates, becauſe the lad whom he loved cried out effeminately as he was fighting. This ſort of love was eſteemed ſo decent and honourable among them, that the moſt virtuous matrons would own publicly their paſſion for a modeſt and beautiful virgin. This affection produced no rivalſhip or jealouſy; on the contrary, thoſe whoſe love was fixed upon the ſame perſon were by this means united in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and jointly conſpired to render the beloved boy as accompliſhed as poſſible.

They taught them alſo in their converſation a keen, yet polite and pleaſant kind of wit; with a conciſe and comprehenſive manner of expreſſion. For Lycurgus, who ordered that a great piece of money, as we have already obſerved, ſhould be but of an inconſiderable value, on the contrary, would

youth in Crete, he acquainted the youth's friends three or four days beforehand, that at ſuch a time he intended to run away with him. Thoſe friends of his would have done a very ſhameful thing, had they upon this notice either concealed the youth, or hindered him from going abroad as uſual. This would be to diſgrace him, a if they thought him unworthy the honour that was going to be done to him. The day being come, if the lover was of as good or better faſhion than the youth, they only made a ſhow of reſiſtance, purſuing him in form till he was got to the place where he uſed to take his repaſt; but if he was of an inferior condition, they forced him from him. The raviſher, after having made very rich preſents to the youth, carried him into the country with all his friends that had accompanied him; and after they had ſpent two months there in hunting and feaſting, they all returned into the city. Among the other valuable preſents given by the lover to his favourite, there was to be a warlike habit, a goblet, and an ox. The youth ſacrificed the ox to Jupiter, and invited all thoſe that had accompanied him to an entertainment, where he publicly declared whether he was pleaſed or diſpleaſed with his raviſher, who, if he had miſbehaved himſelf, was by the law to be puniſhed, and forſaken. Thoſe who were in this manner ſtolen away, were ever after held in the higheſt eſteem, had the firſt places in all their aſſemblies, wore the warlike habit their lovers had given them, and were dignified with the title of *cleinoi*, that is, *illuſtrious*. They did not make choice of the moſt beautiful for the objects of their love, but the moſt valiant and modeſt.

allow no diſcourſe to be current, which did not contain in few words a great deal of uſeful and weighty ſenſe; contriving that children, by a habit of long ſilence and meditation, ſhould learn to be acute and ſententious in their replies; for the incontinence of the tongue renders the diſcourſe empty and frivolous, juſt as the other ſort of incontinence cauſes weakneſs and ſterility in the body. King Agis, when an Athenian laughed at their ſhort ſwords, and ſaid, *that the jugglers ſwallowed ſuch upon the ſtage*, anſwered him, *And yet ſhort as they are, we can give our enemies a home thruſt with them*; and indeed I think there is in this conciſe way of ſpeaking, ſomething which immediately reaches the object aimed at, and forcibly ſtrikes the mind of the hearer. Lycurgus himſelf was in his diſcourſe very ſhort and ſententious, if we may judge by what we find related of him; as in that anſwer which he made to one who adviſed him to eſtabliſh a popular government in Lacedæmon. *Begin, friend*, ſaid he, *and make a trial of it in thy own family*. To another who aſked him why he allowed of ſuch mean and cheap ſacrifices to the Gods? he replied, *that we may always have ſomething to offer to them*. Being aſked, what ſort of martial exerciſes or combats he approved of? he anſwered, *All ſorts, except that in which you ſtretch out your hands* *. Many replies of the like force are to be found in the letters which he occaſionally wrote to his countrymen. Thus, being conſulted how they might beſt oppoſe an invaſion of their enemies, he returned this anſwer, *By continuing poor, and one not coveting to have more than another*. Being conſulted again, whether it were requiſite to incloſe the city with a wall, he ſent them word, *That city is well fortified which has a wall of men inſtead of brick*. But as for theſe letters, whether they be counterfeit or not, I think it

* This was the form of demanding quarter in battle.

no eaſy matter to determine; but that the Lacedæmonians were indeed enemies to talkativeneſs, the following inſtances are a ſufficient proof. King Leonidas ſaid to one who was talking to him ſenſibly enough, but unſeaſonably, *Sir, you are impertinent for ſpeaking in this place ſo much to the purpoſe.* King Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, being aſked why his uncle had made ſo few laws? anſwered, *To men of few words few laws are ſufficient.* One blamed Hecatæus the ſophiſt, becauſe being invited to the public entertainment, he had not ſpoke one word all ſupper-time: Archidamidas anſwered in his vindication, *He who can ſpeak well, knows alſo when to ſpeak.*

I will now give an inſtance or two of their ſatirical repartees, which, as I ſaid before, had a ſort of pleaſantry with them, which rendered them agreeable. Demaratus being aſked, by a troubleſome importunate fellow, who was the beſt man in Lacedæmon? anſwered him, *He that is leaſt like you.* Some, in company where Agis was, much extolled the exact juſtice of the Eleans, who ſat as judges at the Olympic games: *Is it ſuch a great matter*, ſays Agis, *if they can do juſtice once in the ſpace of five years?* Theopompus anſwered a ſtranger, who to make his court to him ſaid, that he was ſo much taken notice of for his love to the Lacedæmonians, that his countrymen from thence called him *Philolacon*, [*i. e.* a lover of the Lacedæmonians], *that it had been more for his honour if they had called him* Philopolites, [*i. e.* a lover of his own countrymen]. And Pliſtonax, the ſon of Pauſanias, when an orator of Athens ſaid the Lacedæmonians were an illiterate and ignorant people, told him, *You ſay true, for we only of all the Grecians have learned none of your ill qualities.* One aſked Archidamidas, what number of men there was at Sparta? he anſwered, *Enough to keep our enemies at a diſtance.*

The peculiar diſpoſition of this people appeared

even in their moſt ludicrous expreſſions. For they uſed not to throw them out at random, nor ever uttered any thing which was not founded in good ſenſe and reaſon. For inſtance, one being aſked to hear a man who exactly counterfeited the voice of a nightingale, anſwered, *I have heard the nightingale itſelf.* Another upon reading this epitaph,

Here reſt the brave who quench'd tyrannic pride;
Victims of Mars, at Selinus they died:

ſaid, that they deſerved to die; for inſtead of *quenching* the tyranny, they ſhould have let it *burn out.* A young man being offered ſome game-cocks ſo hardy that they would die upon the place, ſaid, *that he cared not for cocks that would die hardy, but for ſuch as would live and kill others.* Another would by no means be carried in a cloſe chariot, as he ſaw ſome others were, *becauſe,* ſaid he, *I cannot conveniently riſe in it to pay reſpect to my betters.* In ſhort, their anſwers were ſo ſententious and pertinent, that it has been well obſerved, that the ſtudy of wiſdom was more the characteriſtic of a Lacedæmonian than the application to gymnaſtic exerciſes.

Nor were they leſs ſtudious of poetry and muſic, than they were of gracefulneſs and purity of language in their ordinary diſcourſe. And their ſongs had ſuch a peculiar fire and ſpirit in them, as awakened all the vigour of the mind, urged men to action, and inflamed them with an enthuſiaſtic ardour. The ſtyle of them was plain and manly, the ſubject ſerious and moral: they were uſually wrote in praiſe of ſuch as had died in defence of their country, or to reproach thoſe who would not venture their lives in ſo good a cauſe. The former they declared happy, and the latter they deſcribed as the moſt miſerable of men. In theſe verſes too they boaſted of their paſt exploits, or made magnificent promiſes of what they would perform afterwards,

wards, in expreſſions ſuitable to their ſeveral ages. Of theſe it may not be amiſs to give one example. They had three choirs in their ſolemn feſtivals, the firſt of the old men, the ſecond of the young men, and the laſt of the children: the old men began thus,

We have been young, though now grown old,
Hardy in field, in battle bold.

The young men anſwered them ſinging,

We are ſo now: let who dares try,
We'll conquer, or in combat die.

The children came laſt and ſaid,

Whatever ye can do or tell,
We one day will you both excell.

Indeed, if we attentively conſider their poetical compoſitions, ſome of which are ſtill preſerved, and the airs which were played on the flute when they marched to battle, we ſhall find that * Terpander and Pindar had reaſon to ſpeak of muſic and valour as allied to each other. Terpander writes thus of the Spartans;

Their harmony and valour equal ſhine,
And juſtice ſpreads her influence divine.

And Pindar,

Deep counſels there of reverend age,
And youthful valour's ardent rage,
To guard the ſtate combine.
And there the dance, the ſong, the lyre,
And feſtal joy and wit conſpire;
And all the graces join.

So that theſe two poets deſcribe the Spartans as be-

* He was a very good poet, and as able a muſician. He added three ſtrings to the harp, which till then had but four. He flouriſhed about a hundred and twenty years after Homer.

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ing no leſs muſical than warlike; and the Spartan poet himſelf confirms it:

'Tis leſs to wield the ſword, and hurl the dart,
Than touch the lyre, and know the muſes art.

And even before they engaged in battle, * the king firſt offered ſacrifice to the muſes, probably to put his ſoldiers in mind of the manner of their education, and of the ſevere judgment that would be paſſed upon their actions, and thereby to animate them to the performance of ſome great and memorable exploit. At theſe times the Lacedæmonians abated a little of the ſeverity of their diſcipline in favour of their young men, ſuffering them to curl and perfume their hair, and to have coſtly arms and fine cloaths; and were pleaſed to ſee their gaiety and alacrity on ſuch occaſions, reſembling the eagerneſs of fiery courſers to begin the race. And therefore as ſoon as they arrived at manhood, they let their hair grow, and took eſpecial care to have it combed and dreſſed againſt a day of battle, purſuant to a ſaying of their lawgiver, that a large head of hair ſet off a good face to more advantage, and rendered the ugly more terrible.

When they were in the army, their exerciſes were generally more moderate, their fare was not ſo hard, nor their diſcipline ſo rigorous; ſo that they were the only people in the world to whom war gave

* The king who had the command of the army, before he quitted his palace, in order to put himſelf at the head of his troops, offered in it a ſacrifice to Jupiter the conductor, and the other celeſtial deities. If the omens were favourable, he cauſed a herald to take ſome of the fire from off the altar, and bear it before the troops in their march. When he was arrived upon the frontier, he then offered another ſacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva. Theſe are the only ſacrifices mentioned by Xenophon, who would not have forgot that to the muſes, if it had been a rule to offer ſuch a one before an engagement. Plutarch repeats the ſame thing twice in his morals. It is very likely the muſes were joined with Minerva.

repoſe.

repoſe. When their army was drawn up, and the enemy near, * the king ſacrificed a goat, commanded the ſoldiers to ſet their garlands upon their heads, and the muſicians to play the tune of the hymn to Caſtor; and himſelf advancing forwards, began the Pæan, which ſerved for a ſignal to fall on. It was at once a ſolemn and terrible ſight to ſee them march on to the combat cheerfully and ſedately, without any diſorder in their ranks, or diſcompoſure in their minds, meaſuring their ſteps by the muſic of their flutes. Men in this temper were not likely to be poſſeſſed with fear, or tranſported with fury; but they proceeded with a deliberate valour, and confidence of ſucceſs, as if ſome divinity had ſenſibly aſſiſted them. When the king went againſt the enemy, he had always about his perſon ſome one who had been crowned in the public games of Greece. Upon this account a Lacedæmonian refuſed a conſiderable preſent, which was offered to him upon condition that he would not come into the liſts at the Olympic games; and having with much difficulty thrown his antagoniſt, ſome of the ſpectators ſaid to him, *And now, Lacedæmonian, what are you the better for your victory?* he anſwered ſmiling, *I ſhall have the honour to fight by the ſide of my prince.* After they had routed an enemy, they purſued him till they were well aſſured of the victory, and then they ſounded a retreat, thinking it baſe and unworthy of Grecians to kill men who made no reſiſtance. This conduct did not only ſhow their magnanimity, but had an advantage in it too; for the enemy knowing that they killed only thoſe who reſiſted, and gave quarter to the reſt, generally thought it their beſt way to conſult their ſafety by flight. Hippias the ſophiſt ſays,† that Lycurgus

* This was done in imitation of Hercules, who had performed the like ſacrifice to Juno.

† Xenophon is of the ſame opinion; for he tells us in his treatiſe of the Spartan commonwealth,

Lycurgus himſelf was a very valiant and experienced commander. * Philoſtephanus attributes to him the firſt diviſion of the cavalry into troops of fifty in a ſquare body. But Demetrius Phalereus ſays, that he never was concerned in any warlike engagement, but that he made all his laws in a continued peace. And indeed the order for a ceſſation of arms during the Olympic games, contrived by him, ſeems to prove that he was of a mild and pacific diſpoſition. But Hermippus tells us, ſome were of opinion that he had no communication with Iphitus at firſt, but coming accidentally as a ſpectator, he heard a voice of one behind him, blaming, and wondering at him that he did not encourage his countrymen to reſort to ſo illuſtrious an aſſembly; turning about and ſeeing no man, he concluded it was a voice from heaven, and thereupon immediately went to Iphitus, and aſſiſted him in ordering the ceremonies of that feſtival, which by his means were better eſtabliſhed, and rendered more magnificent than before that time they had been.

The diſcipline of the Lacedæmonians continued ſtill after they were full grown men. No one was allowed to live after his own fancy; but the whole city reſembled a great camp, in which every man had his ſhare of proviſions, and buſineſs appointed; and their whole courſe of life was that of men, who thought they were born not ſo much for themſelves as for their country. Therefore if they were com-

wealth, that Lycurgus brought the military diſcipline to perfection, and that his inventions of that kind were of more uſe than any of thoſe that had preceded him; and I wonder Plutarch takes no notice here of what that hiſtorian ſays concerning the method obſerved by Lycurgus for ſubſiſting his troops, his order of battle, his marches, attacks, incampments, &c. I know not whether this Hippias the ſophiſt be the ſame with Hippias Elienſis, or Hippias Erythræus.

* He was of Cyrene, and flouriſhed in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He wrote a hiſtory of Epire; a treatiſe of wonderful rivers, another of inventions, and a third of the iſles.

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manded nothing elſe, they went to ſee the lads perform their exerciſes, to teach them ſomething uſeful, or to learn it themſelves of thoſe who were older. For one of the chief bleſſings Lycurgus procured to his people was, the enjoyment of great leiſure, which proceeded from his forbidding them the exerciſe of any mean and mechanical trade. For it was in vain to waſte themſelves with anxiety and toil, to heap together riches, which when obtained were of no value; for the Helots tilled their ground for them, and paid them yearly in kind the quantity above mentioned, without any trouble of theirs. A certain Lacedæmonian happened to be at Athens while the courts of juſtice were ſitting; and hearing that a citizen, who had been fined for idleneſs, came home much diſcontented, and attended by his friends, who were greatly concerned for his diſgrace; the Lacedæmonian deſired the company to ſhow him the man who was condemned for *living like a gentleman:* * ſo much beneath them they eſteemed all mechanical employments, and the care of heaping up riches.

Upon the prohibition of gold and ſilver all lawſuits ceaſed of courſe; for there was now no ſuch thing among them as wealth or poverty, but an equality in plenty; and as every thing was cheap, their wants were eaſily ſupplied. All their time, except when they were in the field, was ſpent in dancing, in feaſting, in their exerciſes, and hunting-matches, or in places where they met for converſation. Thoſe who were under thirty years of age were not allowed to go into the market-place, but had the neceſſaries of their family ſupplied by the care of their relations and lovers. Nor was it for the credit of elderly men to be ſeen often in the

* Socrates was of a quite contrary opinion, for he thought there was nothing in the arts and mechanics unbecoming a gentleman, and in which he might not exerciſe himſelf towards the ſupplying his own wants, or the neceſſities of others.

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market-place; it was eſteemed more honourable for them to frequent the ſchools for exerciſe, and places of converſation, where they diſcourſed agreeably, not about money, and matters of common traffic; but the great buſineſs of their converſation was to praiſe ſome good action which had been performed, or to cenſure ſome fault which had been committed; and this was done with wit and good humour, ſo as to reprove and correct without offending. Nor was Lycurgus himſelf ſullen and auſtere; on the contrary, * Soſibius relates, that it was he who dedicated a little ſtatue to the god of laughter, and introduced into their common entertainments and other places of converſation, a ſeaſonable mirth, to make their exerciſe and ſpare diet reliſh the better. Upon the whole, he bred up his citizens in ſuch a manner, that they neither would, nor could live by themſelves, but endeavoured to unite like ſwarms of bees in a cluſter about their king, diveſting themſelves of all regard to their private intereſts, and being conſtantly actuated by an enthuſiaſtic zeal for the intereſt and honour of their country. What their ſentiments were, will appear by a few of their ſayings. Pædaretus, upon being refuſed admittance into the liſt of the † three hundred, returned home very well pleaſed, ſaying, *That he rejoiced to find that there were in Sparta three hundred better men than himſelf.* Piſiſtratidas, who was ſent with ſome others ambaſſador to the lieutenants of the King of Perſia, being aſked by them, *Whether they came in a public or in a private character?* anſwered,

* Soſibius was a grammarian of Lacedæmon. He wrote a book of chronology, and was contemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus.

† Xenophon ſays it was the cuſtom for the Ephori to appoint three officers, and each of theſe three were to pick out an hundred men the very beſt they could find; and it was a point of great emulation to be one of theſe 300; for this, as Plutarch elſewhere ſays, was the firſt degree of honour in the city. It was probably this body of men who accompanied Leonidas to Thermopylæ.

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In a public character if we obtain our demands; if not, in a private one. Argileonis, the mother of Braſidas, aſking ſome ſtrangers who came from Amphipolis, if her ſon * Braſidas died courageouſly, and as became a Spartan? they praiſed him highly, and ſaid, *There is not ſuch another left in Sparta: Do not ſay ſo,* replied ſhe; *Braſidas indeed was a valiant man, but there are ſtill in Sparta many better men than he.*

The ſenate, as I ſaid before, conſiſted at firſt of thoſe who were Lycurgus's chief aſſiſtants in forming the government; and the vacancies he ordered to be ſupplied out of the beſt and moſt deſerving men who were full threeſcore years old. The competition for this office was the moſt glorious that can be imagined: for there the diſpute was not, who among the ſwift was ſwifteſt, or ſtrongeſt among the ſtrong; but who of many wiſe and good was the wiſeſt and the beſt; to whom ſhould be intruſted ever after, as the reward of his merits, the power and authority of the whole commonwealth; and in whoſe hands ſhould be depoſited the honour, the lives and fortunes of all his countrymen. The manner of their election was as follows. The people being called together, ſome perſons appointed for the purpoſe, were locked up in a room near the place of election, which was ſo contrived that they could neither ſee nor be ſeen by any, but only hear the noiſe of the aſſembly without; for they decided this, as moſt other affairs of moment, by the ſhouts of the people. After this, the competitors were brought in, not together, but one after another, by lot, and paſſed through the aſſembly in order without ſpeaking. Thoſe who were locked up had writing-tables with them, in which they ſet down the number of the ſhouts and the loudneſs of them,

* Braſidas the Lacedæmonian general defeated the Athenians in a battle fought near Amphipolis, a town of Macedonia on the banks of the Strymon, but fell himſelf in the action.

without knowing in whoſe favour each of them was made, only that it was the firſt, ſecond, or third, and ſo in order as they were brought in. But he who was found to have the moſt and loudeſt acclamations, was declared duly elected *. Upon this he had a garland ſet upon his head, and went in proceſſion to all the temples to give thanks to the gods: a great number of young men followed him, with loud applauſes, and the women ſung verſes in honour of him, extolling him for his paſt wiſe and virtuous courſe of life. As he went round the city in this manner, each of his relations offered him a repaſt, ſaying, *The city honours you with this banquet:* but he, inſtead of accepting their invitation, returned to the common table, where he formerly uſed to eat, and was ſerved as before, excepting that now he had a † ſecond meſs allowed him, which he ſet by. By that time ſupper was ended, all the women who were related to him were aſſembled at the hall-door; and he beckoning to her whom he moſt eſteemed, preſented to her the portion he had ſaved, ſaying withal, *This which was given me as a mark of the public eſteem, I preſent to you*; upon this ſhe was honourably attended home by the reſt of the women.

With regard to burials, Lycurgus made very wiſe regulations: for, firſt of all, in order to baniſh ſuperſtition, he allowed them to bury their dead within the city ‡, and to have their tombs near the temples, that their youth might be uſed to ſuch ſpectacles, and not have any ſuch dreadful averſion to death, as to fancy that touching a corpſe, or

* But it often was difficult, both in the elections and on other occaſions, to determine the opinion of the majority by this method; in ſuch a caſe the people were ſeparated, and the votes counted on each ſide.

† This was the manner of the Eaſtern countries to expreſs their reſpect to any one, and from them probably the Grecians took it.

‡ Other people generally buried them without their walls, and long after took up the cuſtom of burning them.

treading

treading upon a grave, would defile a man. In the next place, he commanded them to put nothing elſe into the ground with them; only they wrapt up the body in red cloth, with a few olive leaves *. He would not ſuffer the names to be inſcribed on the tombs, but only of ſuch men who died in war, or women who had been employed in ſacred offices. The time too appointed for mourning was very ſhort, for it laſted but eleven days; on the twelfth they ſacrificed to Ceres, and put an end to their mourning. Thus his great care was, that no ſpace in life ſhould be left vacant and unimproved; but that every circumſtance, and every action ſhould lead to the love of virtue, and the contempt of vice. Sparta was every where full of good inſtructions and examples, which the people having always before their eyes from their infancy, could not fail to copy, and thus to make a continual progreſs in every thing laudable. This was the reaſon why he would not allow all that pleaſed, to travel into foreign countries, leſt they ſhould bring in foreign manners and cuſtoms, ſhould imitate thoſe who had been ſpoiled by ill education, or ſhould learn to prefer ſome different form of government. He likewiſe baniſhed all ſtrangers from Lacedæmon who could not give a very good reaſon for their coming thither; not becauſe he was afraid, as Thucydides ſuggeſts, leſt they ſhould inform themſelves of and imitate his manner of government, or learn any thing which might improve their valour and virtue; but rather leſt they ſhould introduce ſomething contrary to good manners. For ſtrangers bring uſually new ſubjects of diſcourſe along with them; theſe produce new opinions, whence ariſe many ſtrange paſſions and inclinations, inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and form

* Ælian informs us, that this was not practiſed with regard to all perſons indifferently, but only ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour.

of government; and therefore he thought it more neceſſary to keep out the infection of corrupt manners, than to prevent the introduction of a peſtilence.

Hitherto, I for my part can ſee no ſign of injuſtice in the laws of Lycurgus *, though ſome who allow that they are well contrived for making men good ſoldiers, yet cenſure them as defective in civil juſtice and honeſty. Perhaps it was the *cryptia* or *ambuſcade*, if this were one of Lycurgus's inſtitutions, as Ariſtotle ſays it was, that gave Plato likewiſe the ſame opinion both of the lawgiver and his government. The thing was this. The magiſtrates diſpatched from time to time ſome of the ableſt of the young men into the country, where they diſperſed themſelves, being armed only with their daggers, and taking a little neceſſary proviſion with them. In the day-time they hid themſelves in the thickets and clefts, but in the night they iſſued out into the highways, and killed all the Helots they could light upon: ſometimes they ſet upon them by day, as they were at work in the fields, and murdered the ableſt and ſtouteſt of them. And Thucydides, in his hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, tells us, that ſuch of them as the Lacedæmonians

* Plato, in his firſt book *de legibus*, Ariſtotle in his ſecond and ſeventh books of politics, and Polybius in the ſixth of his hiſtory, have reproached Lycurgus becauſe his laws were more adapted to make men valiant than to make them juſt. Plutarch is for juſtifying Lycurgus againſt the cenſures of thoſe great men, but he does it weakly. The defect in Lycurgus's ſcheme did not appear preciſely in this or that particular law, but ran through the whole ſyſtem. It is indeed a good thing to render a people warlike; but they ought to be taught at the ſame time, that war is never to be undertaken but for the ſake of peace, that is, they ought to be juſt as well as valiant; and for this Lycurgus made no manner of proviſion. So that his commonwealth ſubſiſted no longer than whilſt they had neighbours about them to be ſubdued; but when they had brought all into ſubjection, life became a ſort of burden to them, they had no reliſh of that repoſe, to which they had never been accuſtomed, and of which they had not the leaſt notion.

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had ſingled out for their valour, were crowned as perſons enfranchiſed, and went about to all the temples in token of freedom; but that ſoon after they all diſappeared on a ſudden, being about the number of 2000: and no man neither then nor ſince could give an account how they were deſtroyed. And Ariſtotle particularly ſays, that the Ephori, as ſoon as they entered into their office, uſed to declare war againſt them, that they might be maſſacred under a pretence of law. In other reſpects too, the Spartans dealt with them very hardly; for they often forced them to drink to exceſs, and led them in that condition into their public halls, that their children might ſee what a contemptible vice drunkenneſs was. They made them ſing ſuch ſongs, and dance ſuch dances, as were vulgar and ridiculous, forbidding them to meddle with any that were liberal and graceful. Upon this account, when the Thebans invaded Laconia, and took a great number of the Helots priſoners, they could by no means perſuade them to ſing the odes of Terpander *, Alcman, or Spendon the Lacedæmonian, becauſe they ſaid that they were forbidden by their maſters. So that they ſeem to have underſtood the difference of ſtates very well, who ſaid, that he who was free in Sparta was of all men the moſt free, and he that was a ſlave there was the greateſt ſlave in the world. But I am of opinion, that theſe cuelties began to be exerciſed in Sparta long after the time of Lycurgus, namely, ſoon after the great earthquake †; at which time

* Terpander was born at Antiſſa a city of Lesbos. He put into verſe the laws of the Lacedæmonians. Alcman was a lyric poet, a native of Sardis, and flouriſhed about the twenty-ſeventh Olympiad. Spendon is unknown.

† This earthquake happened in the firſt year of the ſeventy-eighth Olympiad, when Archidamus, the ſon of Zeuxidamus, was king, the year Socrates was born, and about 467 years before the birth of Chriſt; there periſhed in it above twenty thouſand Spar-

time the Helots joining with the Meſſenians, laid the whole country waſte, and brought the city to the greateſt extremity. For I can never aſcribe to Lycurgus ſo barbarous an act as this of the ambuſcade, if one may judge of him by the mildneſs and juſtice which appeared in all the reſt of his conduct, and which procured him the approbation of the gods themſelves.

When the principal part of his laws had taken ſuch deep root in the minds of his countrymen, that cuſtom had rendered them familiar, and the commonwealth had acquired ſtrength ſufficient to ſupport itſelf; then as the maker of the world (according to Plato) rejoiced when he had finiſhed and put in motion this great machine; ſo Lycurgus felt a wonderful pleaſure in the contemplation of the greatneſs and beauty of his political œconomy, every part of which was now put in action, and moved on in due order. He then conceived a deſign to make it immortal too, and, as far as human wiſdom could effect it, to deliver it down unchangeable to poſterity. To accompliſh this, he called an extraordinary aſſembly of all the people, and told them that he now thought every thing tolerably well eſtabliſhed, both for the happineſs, and virtue of the ſtate; but that there was one thing ſtill behind, of the greateſt importance, which he thought not fit to impart until he had conſulted the oracle: in the mean time his deſire was, that they would punctually obſerve his laws without the leaſt alteration until his return from Delphi; and then he would do as the god ſhould direct him. They all conſented readily, and deſired him to haſten his journey; but before he departed, he adminiſtered an oath to the two kings, the ſenate, and to all the

tans. Plutarch mentions it in his life of Cimon; and Diodorus Siculus, in his eleventh book, gives us a deſcription both of the earthquake, and the war that followed it. However, Ælian ſays that this earthquake was the effect of divine vengeance, and a judgment on the Spartans for their barbarity to the Helots of Tænarus.

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commons, that they would during his abſence inviolably maintain the form of government which he had eſtabliſhed. This done, he ſet out for Delphi. When he came to the oracle, and had ſacrificed to Apollo, he aſked him, *Whether the laws he had eſtabliſhed were ſufficient to make a city virtuous and happy?* The oracle anſwered, *That his laws were excellent, and that the city ſhould continue in the higheſt renown, while it obſerved the polity of Lycurgus.* He wrote down the oracle, and ſent it to Sparta: and then, having ſacrificed the ſecond time to Apollo, and taken leave of his friends and his ſon, he reſolved that the Spartans ſhould never be releaſed from the oath they had taken, but that he would there voluntarily put an end to his life, being now about that age * in which life was ſtill agreeable, and yet might be quitted without regret; and being arrived at the height of happineſs and proſperity. He therefore deſtroyed himſelf by a total abſtinence from food †. For he thought ſtateſmen and good patriots ſhould ſerve their country with their laſt breath, and that the end of their lives ſhould be no more idle and unprofitable than all that went before, but make a part in the character of a virtuous and active man; and he conſidered that his death would both be a conſummation of his own happineſs, and ſecure to his countrymen thoſe advantages which he in his life had obtained for them, ſince they had ‡ ſworn to obſerve his laws till his return.

Nor

* It appears by this paſſage, that he could not be ſo old as Lucian makes him, for he ſays he was fourſcore and five years old when he died. At that age life may be quitted without regret, but it hardly deſerves to be reckoned agreeable.

† How can it be believed that a man ſo prudent in all other reſpects ſhould put an end to his being out of political views, when there was no manner of neceſſity for it? for his abſence would have had the ſame effect at Sparta with his death. I am very much inclined to queſtion the truth of this tradition. He is not the only great man of whom notorious falſehoods have been related.

‡ It might be ſaid that this oath was binding only to thoſe that made it, and that their children were not tied to an obſervance

Nor was he deceived in his expectations *: for, by the ſtrict obſervance of Lycurgus's laws, Lacedæmon continued the chief city of all Greece, both in reſpect of good government at home, and reputation abroad, for the ſpace of five hundred years; in all which time there was no alteration made during the reign of fourteen kings, from him to Agis the ſon of Archidamus. As to the creation of the Ephori, that proved rather an enforcement than a relaxation of the diſcipline of the city; for though they were thought to be choſen in favour of the people, in reality they increaſed the power of the ſenate.

In the reign of Agis money firſt found a way into Sparta, and together with it came in the greedy deſire of riches. This was occaſioned by Lyſander, who by bringing in plenty of gold and ſilver from the wars †, although himſelf was above being corrupted by money, filled his country with avarice and luxury, and ſubverted the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus. So long as they were adhered to,

vance of it; ſo that it was to continue in force no longer than during that generation. But Lycurgus thought that the obligation was perpetual, and extended to the remoteſt poſterity.

* Plutarch attributes the duration of Lycurgus's inſtitution to the oath taken by the Lacedæmonians; but I think he is miſtaken. It is rather owing to this, that the Spartans for a long time had no wars but in Peloponneſus. For as ſoon as their thirſt of empire had inſpired them with a deſign of having naval forces, and entertaining foreign troops, and there was a neceſſity of foreign money to pay them, then their oath was of no effect; they did not ſo much as remember any ſuch had ever been taken; then were the laws of Lycurgus trampled upon, Sparta had recourſe to the king of Perſia, and that was the cauſe of her downfal.

† When Lyſander had taken Athens, he carried into Sparta a great many rich ſpoils, and 470 talents of ſilver, *Xenoph. lib.* 2. This had a very pernicious conſequence; for all the Greek hiſtorians agree, that from this time Sparta began to decline; and this is what Ariſtotle means, when, in his ſeventh book of politics, he ſays, that Lycurgus committed a fatal overſight when he ſuited all his laws to war only, and victory, the ill effects of which had been not long before ſufficiently experienced. He means the diſorders, which were the conſequence of Lyſander's victory.

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the good order and government which prevailed in Sparta, reſembled more the virtuous diſcipline of ſome ſevere philoſopher, than the political regulations of a commonwealth. And as the poets feign of Hercules, that with his lion's ſkin and his club he went through the world, puniſhing lawleſs and cruel tyrants, ſo may it be ſaid of the Lacedæmonians, that with a piece of parchment * and a coarſe coat they gained ſuch power and influence, that Greece willingly ſubmitted to their authority; they deſtroyed tyranny and uſurpation; they put an end to wars, and compoſed civil diſſenſions, and that frequently without taking arms, but merely by ſending a ſingle ambaſſador, about whom the people ſwarmed like bees about their king, and were immediately reduced to order: ſo eminent for good government and exact juſtice was this illuſtrious commonwealth. And therefore I wonder at thoſe who ſay, that the Spartans knew how to obey, but not how to govern, and who approve the reply of King Theopompus, who, when one ſaid that Sparta ſupported itſelf ſo long, *becauſe their kings could command well*; anſwered, *Nay, rather becauſe the people know ſo well how to obey.* For men will not bear ſubjection to thoſe who are unworthy to command. The prince's own virtues muſt inſure the obedience of his ſubjects; for a good leader will always be readily followed. And as the deſign of horſemanſhip is to render horſes tame and tractable, ſo the art of governors terminates in procu-

* This was what they called the *Scytale*, which was a long narrow ſlip of leather, or parchment, which they wound about a ſtaff in ſo regular a manner that every part of it was covered. Upon this they wrote their orders, and when they had done they unwound it, and ſent it to the general, to whom it was directed. The general had another ſtaff exactly of the ſame ſize, to which he applied the parchment in the ſame manner it had been done to the other, and by that means found out the connection, and the relation the characters had one to the other; till he had done this, they were unintelligible.

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ring the ready ſubmiſſion of the governed. But ſuch was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that people did not only endure, but even deſired to be their ſubjects. For they did not uſe to petition them for ſhips, or money, or a ſupply of armed men, but only for a Spartan commander; and having obtained one, uſed him with honour and reſpect. Thus the Sicilians behaved to Gylippus, the Chalcidians to Braſidas, and all the Aſiatic Greeks to Lyſander, Ageſilaus, and Callicratidas; eſteeming them the moderators, reconcilers, and reformers of thoſe princes and nations to whom they were ſent, and looking upon Sparta herſelf as the perfect model of good manners and wiſe government. And to this Stratonicus pleaſantly alluded, when in merriment he pretended to make a law, that the Athenians ſhould manage religious ceremonies and proceſſions, the Eleans ſhould preſide at the Olympic games, as being beſt ſkilled in matters of this nature, and that if either of them did amiſs, the Lacedæmonians ſhould be well beaten *. This was a jocoſe expreſſion; but Antiſthenes, one of the ſcholars of Socrates, ſaid more ſeriouſly of the Thebans, who were very much elated by their victory at Leuctra, *That they looked like ſchoolboys who were proud of having beaten their maſter.*

However it was not the main deſign of Lycurgus, that this city ſhould govern a great many others; he thought that the happineſs of a kingdom, as of a private man, conſiſted in the exerciſe of virtue, and the eſtabliſhment of internal tranquillity and order. Therefore his principal aim was to inſpire his people with generous ſentiments, and teach them to mode-

* At firſt ſight one would think Stratonicus ſhould have ſaid, the Lacedæmonians were to have *the correcting of thoſe that had been faulty*; but the ſaying is more pointed when turned the other way. Therein he rallies the Lacedæmonians for their cuſtom of puniſhing, or fining the maſters or lovers of the youth that had done amiſs, and at the ſame time implies, that Sparta was miſtreſs of the other cities.

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rate their deſires, and by theſe means to ſecure the continuance of the republic. And all good writers on politics, as Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and ſeveral others, have taken Lycurgus for their model. But theſe great men left only ineffectual ſchemes, and mere words behind them; whereas Lycurgus, without writing any thing, did actually put in execution ſuch a plan of government as has never ſince been equalled; and has given an undeniable proof, that the perfect wiſe man was not ſo mere a notion as ſome have thought; for he has produced a whole nations of philoſophers, and therefore deſerves to be preferred to all other lawgivers of Greece *; and notwithſtanding there is ſtill extant a temple in which ſacrifice is offered annually to Lycurgus as to a god, yet Ariſtotle was of opinion that he deſerved greater honours than were paid to him by the Spartans.

It is reported, that when his bones were brought to Sparta, his tomb was ſtruck with lightning; an accident which befel no eminent perſon but himſelf and Euripides, who was buried at Arethuſa a city of Macedon; and the admirers of Euripides may allege this as a ſtrong teſtimony in his favour, that he had in this reſpect the ſame fate with that excellent man and favourite of the gods †. Some ſay Lycurgus died in the city of Cirrha, but Apollothemis ſays he died after he was brought to Elis; Timæus and Ariſtoxenus ‡, that he ended his days

* Ariſtotle and Plato differ in this from Plutarch. Even Polybius, ſo great an admirer as he was of the Spartan government, which he preferred to all others, confeſſes that it was defective in this, that temperance and moderation were not obſerved in the public, but in the particular practice of private men. Every Spartan conſidered in his own perſon, and private life, was wiſe, modeſt, and prudent, but when taken collectively they were a people full of avarice and ambition.

† For Euripides was accuſed of Atheiſm.

‡ He was a diſciple of Ariſtotle. He wrote the lives of the philoſophers, and many other works. There are extant three books of his on muſic.

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in Crete. Ariſtoxenus further ſays, that his tomb is ſhown by the Cretans in Pergamia near the great road. It is ſaid that he left but one ſon, named *Antiorus*, who dying without iſſue, the race was extinct. His relations and friends for a long time after held an annual aſſembly in commemoration of him, and the days of their meeting were called *Lycurgides*. Ariſtocrates, the ſon of Hipparchus, ſays, that he died in Crete, and that the perſons where he lodged, when they had burned his body, caſt the aſhes into the ſea, which was what he himſelf had deſired, fearing, that, if his remains ſhould be tranſported to Lacedæmon, the people might pretend to be releaſed from their oath, and make innovations in the government.

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THE LIFE OF NUMA POMPILIUS.

THere is likewiſe a great diverſity amongſt hiſtorians concerning the time in which Numa Pompilius reigned; though ſome families ſeem to trace their genealogy up to him with great accuracy. However a certain writer called *Clodius*, in a book entitled, *The chronology of paſt times*, avers, that the ancient regiſters of Rome were loſt when that city was ſacked by the Gauls, and that thoſe which are now extant, are counterfeited by the flatterers of ſome great men, who were reſolved at any rate to have their pedigree derived from ſome ancient and noble lineage, though in reality that family has no relation to them. Some ſay, that Numa was a ſcholar of Pythagoras; but others affirm, that he was quite unacquainted with the Grecian learning; and that he was either capable by his natural diſpoſition and abilities to make great attainments in virtue, or if he received any aſſiſtance, that his improvement was owing to ſome Barbarian philoſopher of greater merit than Pythagoras. Some affirm alſo, that Pythagoras the Samian was not contemporary with Numa, but lived about five ages after him *; but that there was another Pythagoras,

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* Every age or generation conſiſted of thirty years. Pythagoras removed into Italy in the reign of the elder Tarquin, and in the fifty-

a native of Sparta, who won the prize at the Olympic race, in the ſixteenth Olympiad, in the third year of which Olympiad Numa was choſen king; and that he, in his travels through Italy, became acquainted with Numa, and aſſiſted him in regulating the government; and that it was by the advice of this Pythagoras that ſo many of the Spartan laws and cuſtoms were introduced amongſt the Romans. But this might be, becauſe Numa was deſcended from the Sabins *, who ſay that they are a colony of the Lacedæmonians. However, it is a difficult matter to adjuſt the times exactly, eſpecially ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed by the names of the perſons who were conquerors at the Olympic games. The liſt of theſe was, as it is ſaid, publiſhed a long time after by Hippias of Elis †, who grounds it upon no ſufficient authority. But what we have collected moſt remarkable concerning Numa we ſhall deliver, beginning from that point of time which is moſt ſuitable to our purpoſe.

In the thirty-ſeventh year from the foundation of Rome, on the ſeventh day of the month of July, (which day is ſtill called the *caprotine nones*), Romulus was offering a public ſacrifice at the Goats-Marſh, in preſence of the ſenate and moſt of the people of Rome, when ſuddenly there aroſe a furious tempeſt, the air was darkened with black clouds, which burſting upon the earth with a violent hurricane, ſo terrified the people that they fled in great con-

firſt Olympiad; Numa was choſen king the third year of the ſixteenth. So that there were thirty-four Olympiads, that is, 136 years, between Numa's election and Pythagoras's arrival in Italy; which 136 years contain four generations and an half. And this agrees with the computation of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, who ſays, that Numa reigned four generations complete before Pythagoras: and, in contradiction to thoſe who aſſerted, that Numa was ſtudying under that philoſopher at Crotona when he was called to the crown, he adds, that Crotona was not built till four years after his election.

* *Vide* p. 128.

† Hippias of Elis was a philoſopher and poet. He was contemporary with Socrates.

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fuſion. In this whirlwind Romulus diſappeared, his body having never ſince been found either living or dead. This accident raiſed ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt the ſenate; and a report was ſpread, that they having long been weary of monarchical government, had murdered the king, with a deſign to ſeize the power into their own hands; and this was the more probable, becauſe his late behaviour to the ſenate had ſeemed too imperious and ſevere. But they found means to remove this ſuſpicion, by ordaining divine honours to be paid to Romulus as to one not dead, but tranſlated to a more exalted ſtate. And this was confirmed by the teſtimony of Proculus, a noble perſon, who ſwore that he ſaw Romulus aſcend to heaven completely armed, and heard his voice commanding that they ſhould hereafter call him *Quirinus*.

Beſides this commotion there aroſe another, in which the city was greatly divided about the election of a king. For the firſt citizens and the new inhabitants were not yet perfectly united, but there were various factions amongſt the commonalty, and jealouſies and emulations amongſt the ſenators. All agreed that it was neceſſary to have a king, yet what perſon, or of which of the two nations he ſhould be, was ſtill a great diſpute. For thoſe who had been builders of the city with Romulus, would by no means conſent that the Sabins, to whom they had yielded a ſhare of their lands and dwellings, ſhould rule over thoſe who entertained them. On the other ſide, the Sabins had a reaſonable plea, when they alleged, that at Tatius's death they had peaceably ſubmitted to Romulus, ſo that now their turn was come to have a king choſen out of their own nation; nor did they eſteem themſelves inferior to the Romans, nor to have contributed leſs than they to the increaſe of Rome, which, without their numbers and aſſociation, could never have merited the name of a city.

This was the ground of their diſcord; but leſt the unſettled ſtate of the government ſhould produce a general confuſion, it was determined by the ſenators, who were an hundred and fifty in number *, that each of them ſhould interchangeably execute the office of ſupreme magiſtrate, with all the enſigns of the regal power, offer the ſolemn ſacrifices, and diſpatch judicial cauſes for the ſpace of ſix hours by day, and ſix by night. This equal diſtribution was looked upon as well contrived in point of equality among the ſenators; and the viciſſitude of power ſeemed likely to prevent the envy of the common people, when they could behold one elevated to the degree of a king, levelled in the ſame day and ſame night to the private condition of a ſubject. This form of government was termed by the Romans *interregnum*. But, notwithſtanding this moderate and equitable partition of the ſupreme power, they could not eſcape the cenſure and clamours of the vulgar, as if they were changing the form of the government into an oligarchy, and deſigned to keep the power always in their own hands, without ever chuſing a king. But at length both parties came to this concluſion, that the one ſhould chuſe a king out of the body of the other. This was eſteemed the beſt expedient to reconcile the

* According to Plutarch's account in the life of Romulus, the number of the ſenators was 200. But Dionyſius informs us, that authors differ in this particular; ſome ſaying, that 100 ſenators were added to the original number upon the union of the Sabins with the Romans; others, that there were only fifty added. As Plutarch wrote theſe lives at different times, he might unawares follow both theſe inconſiſtent accounts. Livy indeed makes no mention at all of this addition to the ſenate; and when he ſpeaks of the *interregnum*, ſays, that the government was adminiſtered by the 100 ſenators. And according to him they diſtributed the authority among them in the following manner: "The whole body being divided into ten claſſes, each claſs preſided for the ſpace of five days, though only one perſon at a time was allowed to carry the enſigns of royalty." This may perhaps be reconciled with Plutarch's account of each ſenator's governing for twelve hours. But Dionyſius differs very widely; for he ſays, that each ſenator held the government for five days.

contending

contending factions; and it would have this effect beſides, that the prince who ſhould be choſen would have an equal affection for both parties, the one as his electors, and the other as his kindred and countrymen. In purſuance of this agreement, the Sabins remitted the choice to the Romans, who preferred a Sabin king elected by themſelves, to a Roman king elected by the Sabins. After ſome deliberation, Numa Pompilius, a Sabin, was elected; a perſon ſo celebrated for his virtue, though he was not one of thoſe who came to reſide at Rome, that he was no ſooner nominated than accepted with applauſe and acclamation, by the Sabins, who expreſſed more joy at the choice than even the Romans themſelves.

The election being made public *, the principal men of both parties were deputed to acquaint him with their determination, and entreat him to accept the government. Numa reſided at a conſiderable city of the Sabins called *Cures*, whence the Romans and Sabins after their union were called *Quirites*. He was the ſon of Pomponius, an illuſtrious perſon, and was the youngeſt of four brothers. It ſeems to have happened by the peculiar direction of the gods, that he was born on the twenty-firſt of April, the day on which the foundation of Rome was laid by Romulus. His mind was by nature happily formed for virtue, and had been beſides farther improved by learning, by the exerciſe of patience, and the ſtudies of philoſophy, by which he had utterly extirpated not only all ſuch paſſions as are univerſally eſteemed vile and mean, but even thoſe violent and rapacious diſpoſitions which were eſteemed honourable amongſt the barbarous nations; being perſuaded that there was no true fortitude but that which ſubdued the paſſions,

* For the election was made by the ſenate only. They firſt propoſed that the choice ſhould be made by the people, who, in return for this mark of reſpect, ſubmitted the determination entirely to the ſenate.

and reduced them under the reſtraints of reaſon. Upon this account, he baniſhed all luxury and ſplendour from his own houſe; and offered his aſſiſtance to any citizen or ſtranger that applied to him, acting as an upright judge or faithful counſellor. He employed his leiſure hours, not in the purſuit of pleaſure, or wealth, but in the worſhip of the immortal gods, and in the rational contemplation of their divine power and nature. His name grew ſo very famous, that Tatius, who was Romulus's aſſociate in the kingdom of Rome, choſe to make him his ſon-in-law, beſtowing upon him his only daughter Tatia. But he was not ſo elated with this marriage as to deſire to live with his father-in-law at Rome; he rather choſe to remain with the Sabins, and cheriſh his own father in his old age. Tatia likewiſe preferred the private condition of her huſband before the honours and ſplendour ſhe might have enjoyed in her father's court. After ſhe had been married thirteen years, ſhe died; and then Numa, leaving the city, betook himſelf to a country-life, and in a ſolitary manner frequented the groves and fields conſecrated to the gods, making his uſual abode in deſert places. And from this chiefly that ſtory about the goddeſs had its original, which was, that Numa did not retire from ſociety out of any melancholy or diſorder of mind, but becauſe, being a favourite of heaven, he enjoyed a more ſublime converſation, and had been honoured with the love of the goddeſs Egeria, by frequent converſe with whom he had attained a more than human knowledge in ſacred and divine ſubjects. This ſtory evidently reſembles thoſe very ancient fables which the Phrygians recount of Athys, the Bithynians of Herodotus, and the Arcadians of Endymion *. And many others

* The ſtories of Athys and Endymion are well known, the former of whom was loved by Cybele, and the latter by Diana; but I believe there is no where elſe any mention made of this Herodotus.

have

have by paſt ages been believed to be peculiarly favoured and beloved of the gods. Nor is it improbable, that God, who places not his affection on horſes, or birds, but on mankind, ſhould be pleaſed to dwell with ſuch as are eminently virtuous, and not diſdain to converſe with the wiſe and good; though it be altogether irrational to believe, that any god or demon is capable of a ſenſual love for human bodily form or beauty. And yet the Egyptians make a diſtinction which ſeems not very abſurd; they ſuppoſe that a divine ſpirit may poſſibly approach a woman, and produce in her the principles of generation; but, on the other ſide, that it is impoſſible for a man to have any ſuch intercourſe with a goddeſs: but at the ſame time they do not conſider that there can be no mixture without a mutual communication. However, it is certainly reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the gods have an affection for men, and upon this account may be ſaid to love them; and this love expreſſes itſelf in a particular care to improve their virtue and good diſpoſitions. And therefore it was no abſurd fiction, that Phorbas *, Hyacinthus, and Admetus were beloved by Apollo; or that Hippolytus the Sicyonian was ſo much in his favour, that as often as he ſailed from Sicyon to Cirrha, the god rejoiced, and inſpired the Pythian propheteſs with theſe verſes:

* Phorbas was the ſon of Triopas, king of Argos. He delivered the Rhodians from a prodigious number of ſerpents that infeſted the iſland, eſpecially from a furious dragon, that had devoured a great many people. As he was highly beloved by Apollo, he was after his death placed in the heavens, together with the dragon he had deſtroyed.

Hyacinthus was the ſon of Amyclas, founder of the city of Amyclæ, near Sparta. He was beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus, and was killed in a fit of jealouſy by the latter, who cauſed a quoit thrown by Apollo to fall upon him. He was changed into a flower which bears his own name.

Admetus was the ſon of Pheres, king of Theſſaly. It is ſaid that Apollo was his ſhepherd.

Now

Now lov'd Hippolytus returns once more;
Conduct him ſafe ye winds from ſhore to ſhore.

It is reported alſo, that Pan became enamoured of Pindar and his verſes *, and that a deity honoured Heſiod and Archilochus after they were dead, on account of their poetry †. It is ſaid alſo, that while Sophocles lived, Æſculapius was entertained by him, of which there are many proofs remaining ‡; and that after his death, another deity ‖ procured him burial. Wherefore, if any credit may be given to theſe particular inſtances, why ſhould we judge it

* It is ſaid that Pindar once heard the god Pan ſinging one of his odes.

† As for Heſiod, the following hiſtory of him is that to which Plutarch, without doubt, alludes. After the death of this poet, who was buried in Ætolia, in the territory of Naupactus, at the entrance into the gulf of Corinth, the Orchomenians, a people of Bœotia, being terribly afflicted with a plague, ſent to the oracle at Delphi for a remedy againſt ſo grievous a calamity. The prieſteſs returned for anſwer, that the peſtilence was not to ceaſe till they had removed the bones of the poet Heſiod into their country, and that a crow ſhould conduct them to the place where they were interred; as ſoon as they had paid obedience to the oracle, the plague ceaſed. As for Archilochus, he was honoured after his death in the following manner. Having been ſlain in fight by a ſoldier of Naxus, the firſt time afterwards when that ſoldier went to preſent himſelf in the temple of Delphi, the prieſteſs forbid him the place, becauſe he had killed a man conſecrated to the Muſes. He would fain have juſtified himſelf to the prieſteſs, and appeaſed the deity by prayer; but he was commanded by the oracle to go immediately into the houſe of one Tettix, near the promontory of Tænarus, and there, by his libations and ſacrifices, appeaſe the manes of Archilochus.

‡ It does not appear to me what thoſe proofs were, which were extant in the days of Plutarch; perhaps they might be ſome inſcriptions.

‖ That other deity was Bacchus, and this is the ſtory. Whilſt Lyſander was carrying on the ſiege of Athens, he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the fort of Decelæa, where was the ſepulchre of Sophocles's anceſtors. The poet died during the ſiege, and they could not bury him in that ſepulchre, becauſe it was in the hands of the enemy. Bacchus appeared in a dream to Lyſander, and commanded him to ſuffer the new Syren juſt dead at Athens to be buried in Decelæa. At firſt Lyſander ſlighted the apparition, whereupon Bacchus appeared to him a ſecond time; and Lyſander having learned from a deſerter that Sophocles was dead, he ſuffered the Athenians to bury him, and honoured the funeral with his preſence.

incongruous,

incongruous, that a like ſpirit of the gods ſhould inſpire Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaſter, Lycurgus, Numa, or many others who were legiſlators, governors, or founders of commonwealths? Nay, what if we ſhould ſuppoſe that the gods make it a ſerious buſineſs to inſpire ſuch men with great and noble deſigns, and that if they ever converſe with poets and muſicians, they do it merely to divert themſelves? But if any man be of another opinion, as Bacchylides * ſays, *The way is broad enough*; for there is no abſurdity in that other account which ſome give of the proceedings of Lycurgus and Numa, and other famous men; that being to manage the untractable and perverſe diſpoſition of the multitude, and deſigning to introduce great innovations in their political eſtabliſhment, they pretended a divine authority for what they did, entirely from a regard to the welfare of thoſe who were thus to be deceived into their own happineſs.

Numa was about forty years of age when the ambaſſadors came from Rome to make him an offer of the kingdom. The ſpeakers were Proculus and Veleſus, two perſons of ſuch eminence, that it was thought, ſome time before, the people would have choſen one of them for king; the party of Romulus being zealous for Proculus, and the Tatian faction for Veleſus. Their ſpeech was very ſhort, as they ſuppoſed that Numa would gladly embrace the offer which was made him. But it was no eaſy matter to perſuade him: they were forced to uſe many arguments and entreaties to induce him to leave his quiet and retired life, and to accept the government of a city, which owed both its original and increaſe to war. Wherefore, in preſence of his father, and Martius one of his kinſmen, he anſwered in this manner: *Every alteration of a man's life is dangerous to him; but it is madneſs for one that*

* He was a Lyric poet of Ceos, and nephew of Simonides.

neither

neither wants the conveniencies of life, nor has any diſagreeable circumſtances attending his condition, to change that plan of life to which he has been long accuſtomed, which if it has has no other advantage, yet as it is ſure and certain, muſt be preferable to that which is doubtful and unknown. But the difficulties of this government are even beyond an uncertainty, if we may judge by what befel Romulus, who did not eſcape the ſuſpicion of having plotted againſt the life of his colleague Tatius; nor was the ſenate free from a like ſuſpicion of having treaſonably murdered Romulus. And yet he is eſteemed by every one to have ſprung from the gods, and to have been nurſed and preſerved after a miraculous manner in his infancy. But as for me, I am only of mortal race, and have been nurſed and educated by perſons well known among you. My diſpoſitions are theſe; an extraordinary love of retirement, and of ſuch ſtudies as are inconſiſtent with buſineſs and action; a ſtrong deep-rooted love of peace, which has always grown up with me; and a delight in the ſociety of ſuch men as aſſemble only for the worſhip of the gods, or for the ſake of friendly converſation, and employ the reſt of their time in tilling their ground and feeding their cattle. Theſe are the beſt parts of my character; and they are all ſuch as render a man very unfit to reign. Whereas Romulus, perhaps, may have left you, oh Romans! engaged in unavoidable wars; to ſupport which, your ſtate requires an active and vigorous king. Beſides, your people have been long accuſtomed to arms, and are elated by ſucceſs; ſo that their ambition of increaſing their power and extending their conqueſts is apparent to all. And therefore, beſide other conſiderations, that prince would render himſelf ridiculous, who ſhould go about to inculcate the worſhip of the gods, and teach an high reverence for juſtice, and a deteſtation of violence and war, to a city which rather requires a martial captain than a peaceable king.

The Romans, upon this refuſal, were the more urgent with him, beſeeching him that he would not ſuffer them to relapſe into their former ſedition and civil

civil diſcord; there being no perſon in whom both parties could agree but himſelf. And at length his father, and Martius, taking him aſide, perſuaded him to accept ſo noble and divine a gift. *Though*, ſaid they, *you neither deſire riches, as being content with your own fortune, nor court the ſplendid fame of authority and power, as having already the more valuable fame of virtue; yet you will conſider that government itſelf is truly a ſervice of the Gods, who now call forth to action your native wiſdom and juſtice, and will no longer ſuffer theſe noble qualities to lie unemployed and uſeleſs to mankind. And therefore you ought by no means to decline the government, which affords a wiſe man ſo large a field for great and honourable actions; in which the worſhip of the gods may be performed with more ſolemnity, and mens minds receive a new turn, and be rendered more ſubmiſſive to the rules of religion by the example and authority of their prince. Even theſe very Romans ſhowed a great affection to Tatius, though a foreigner; and the memory of Romulus is ſo precious to them, that, ſince his deceaſe, they have voted divine honours to be paid to him. And who knows, but that this people being victorious, may now think they have had enough of war; and that being ſatiated with the trophies and ſpoils they have acquired, they may wiſh for a juſt and pacific prince to eſtabliſh good order and tranquillity in the ſtate? But ſhould their mad, impetuous deſire of war ſtill continue, were it not better that the reins ſhould be held by ſuch a moderating hand, as is able to divert the fury another way? and that you ſhould unite both your own native country, and the whole Sabin nation, in the ſtricteſt bonds of love and friendſhip with ſo flouriſhing and powerful a city?* Theſe perſuaſions were ſtrengthened by ſeveral auſpicious omens, and by the zeal of his own citizens, who, as ſoon as they heard the meſſage that was ſent from Rome, conjured him to accept the offer; being aſſured that it was the only means to appeaſe all civil diſſenſions, and incorporate both nations into one body.

As

As ſoon as Numa was determined to go, having firſt ſacrificed to the gods, he ſet forward towards Rome. He was met on the way by the ſenate and people, who expreſſed an eager deſire to receive him. The women alſo welcomed him with joyful acclamations; and ſacrifices were offered in all the temples; and ſo univerſal was the joy, that the city ſeemed not to receive a king, but the addition of a new kingdom. When he came into the forum, Spurius Vettius, whoſe turn it was to be Interrex or governor at that time, putting it to the vote, whether Numa ſhould be king; he was unanimouſly elected. Then the royal robes were brought to him; but he refuſed to be inveſted with them, until he had firſt conſulted and been confirmed by the gods. Accordingly, being accompanied by the prieſts and augurs, he aſcended the capitol, which at that time the Romans called the *Tarpeian rock*. The chief of the augurs covered the head of Numa, * and turned his face towards the ſouth; then, ſtanding behind him, he laid his right hand on his head, and prayed, caſting his eyes every way, in expectation of birds, or ſome other auſpicious ſignal from the gods. The multitude, which was aſſembled in the forum, ſtood with wonderful ſilence expecting and longing for an happy event, which was ſoon determined by the appearance and flight of ſuch birds as were accounted fortunate. Then Numa putting on the royal robes, deſcended from the hill into the forum, where he was received by the people with ſhouts and acclamations, being eſteemed by all a moſt religious prince, and moſt highly beloved of the gods.

The firſt thing he did at his entrance into the go-

* Plutarch is here miſtaken. Livy tells us that it was the head of the augur, not of Numa, that was covered; and it was always the cuſtom for the augur to have a covering on his head when he made his obſervations.

vernment

vernment * was to diſmiſs the band of three hundred men, which Romulus conſtantly kept for his life-guard, and called *celeres*; for he did not think it reaſonable either to ſhow any diſtruſt of thoſe who had placed ſo much confidence in him, or to rule over a people that durſt not truſt him. He then added to the two prieſts of Jupiter and Mars, a third in honour of Romulus, whom he called *Flamen Quirinalis*. The Romans before that time called their prieſts *Flamines*, by corruption of the word *Pilamines*, from certain caps which they wore, called *piloi* in Greek; for in thoſe times Greek words were more mixed with the Latin, than in this age. So alſo that royal robe, which is called *Læna*, Juba aſſerts to be the ſame as the Greek *Chlæna*; and the name of † *Camillus*, which is given to the youth that ſerves in the temple of Jupiter, is taken from the ſame name which ſome of the Greeks give to Mercury, denoting his office of attendant on the gods.

When Numa had by theſe actions ingratiated himſelf with the people, he next attempted to ſoften their fierce and martial diſpoſition, and render them more juſt and humane. For Rome might now be truly ſaid, according to Plato's expreſſion, *to be in a ſtate of high inflammation*; as it had been from its very original a receptacle of the moſt daring and warlike ſpirits, whom ſome bold and deſperate adventure had driven thither from every quarter; and

* Dionyſius, on the contrary, ſays, that Numa made no alteration in what had been ſettled by Romulus, only that he conferred the third rank in the adminiſtration of holy things on the tribunes that commanded thoſe companies of guards, with an intent, doubtleſs, to inſtil into them ſtronger notions of juſtice and humanity.

† Camillus is derived from the Bœotic Καδμιλος, which properly ſignifies a ſervitor. In every temple there was a youth of quality, whoſe buſineſs it was to miniſter to the high prieſt, and perform all the offices relating to the ſervices of the temple. It was required, that the father and mother of the youth ſhould be both alive, for which reaſon Plutarch makes uſe of the word ἀμφιθαλῆ, which the Latins call *patrimum matrimum*.

by frequent incurſions upon its neighbours, and continual wars, had grown up, and increaſed its power, and now ſeemed ſtrong and ſettled by encountering dangers, as piles driven into the ground become more fixed and ſtable by the violent ſtrokes of the rammer. Wherefore Numa, judging that it was no ſlight undertaking to civilize the furious and unruly ſpirit of this people, called in the aſſiſtance of religion; and chiefly by the ſacrifices, proceſſions, and religious dances, which he appointed, at which he officiated in perſon, and in which an agreeable amuſement was mixed with their ſolemn devotion, he ſoothed the minds of the people, and rendered their fiery martial temper more cool and ſedate. And ſometimes he filled their imaginations with religious terrors, pretending that ſtrange apparitions were ſeen, and dreadful voices heard; whereby he ſubdued their minds, and rendered them ſubmiſſive by ſuperſtition.

Hence aroſe the opinion that Numa converſed with Pythagoras, and that he drew his learning and wiſdom from him: for religious ceremonies and occupations made a great part both of the philoſophy of the one, and the policy of the other. It is ſaid alſo that his ſolemn air and oſtentatious pretences were copied from Pythagoras; and they both ſeem to have had the ſame reaſons for their conduct in this reſpect. For it is ſaid of Pythagoras, * that he had ſo far tamed an eagle, that, upon his pronouncing certain words, it would ſtop in its flight and come down to him; that as he paſſed through a croud of people aſſembled at the Olympic games, he ſhowed them his golden thigh; and that he practiſed many other contrivances which had an aſto-

* It is alſo ſaid, that he had tamed a furious wild bear, and that, letting him looſe, he forbade him to do the leaſt injury to any animal whatever; which he punctually obſerved, and lived in the woods as a diſciple of that philoſopher.

niſhing-

niſhing and miraculous appearance; upon which Timon the Phliaſian * wrote this diſtich:

The Samian juggler, of applauſe ſo proud,
Who tries with ſolemn words to cheat the croud.

In like manner Numa feigned, that a certain goddeſs or mountain-nymph was in love with him, and frequently met him in private, as was ſaid before; and that he converſed familiarly with the Muſes, for to them he aſcribed the greateſt part of his revelations; and one muſe in particular above all the reſt he recommended to the veneration of the Romans, under the name of *Tacita*, i. e. *Silent*. This looks as if he had been acquainted with and approved the Pythagorean precept of ſilence. His regulations alſo about images are very much akin to the opinions of Pythagoras. For Pythagoras ſuppoſed that the ſupreme Being was not an object of ſenſe, or capable of any ſuffering or infirmity, but was incorruptible, inviſible, and to be comprehended only by the mind. And Numa forbade the Romans to repreſent God in the form of man or beaſt; nor was there any picture or ſtatue of a deity admitted among them formerly: for during the ſpace of the firſt hundred and ſeventy years, they built temples and erected chapels, but made no images, thinking that it was a great impiety to repreſent the moſt excellent beings by things ſo baſe and unworthy, and that it was by the underſtanding only that men could form any conception of the Deity. His ſacrifices alſo had a great ſimilitude with thoſe of Pythagoras;

* Plutarch adds *the Phliaſian*, to diſtinguiſh him from Timon the Athenian, ſo well known by the ſurname of *Man-hater*. The Timon mentioned by Plutarch in this place, was of Phlius, a town in Peloponneſus, and flouriſhed under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He was the author of ſeveral comedies, tragedies, and ſatires. Timon the Athenian lived an hundred, or an hundred and twenty years before him, in the days of Alcibiades, and in the time of the Peloponneſian war.

for they were not celebrated with effuſion of blood, but conſiſted moſtly of flour and libations of wine, and ſuch other things as were moſt eaſy to be had. Beſides theſe, other arguments are urged to prove that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras. One is, that the Romans made Pythagoras free of their city, as Epicharmus the comic poet *, an ancient author and ſcholar of Pythagoras, relates in a certain treatiſe dedicated to Antenor. Another is, that Numa gave to one of his four ſons the name of † *Mamercus*, which was the name of the ſon of Pythagoras; and from him, they ſay, is ſprung that ancient Patrician family ‡ of the Æmilians, the king giving him the ſurname of *Æmilius* ‖, to denote his ſoft and graceful manner of ſpeaking. And I myſelf remember, that when I was at Rome, I heard many ſay, that when the oracle directed two ſtatues to be erected, one to the wiſeſt, and another to the moſt valiant man of Greece, they placed two of braſs in the forum, one repreſenting Alcibiades, and the other Pythagoras. But to perſiſt longer either in refuting or confirming an opinion about theſe matters, which are ſo full of doubt and uncertainty, would be purſuing an impertinent and trifling controverſy.

* He lived in the days of Xerxes, about the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad, which does not agree with the calculation of thoſe who make him one of Pythagoras's diſciples, and Pythagoras himſelf contemporary with Numa; and yet we cannot be miſtaken as to the time wherein Epicharmus lived; for it is well known he was baniſhed Sicily by Hiero, for having ſpoken with too much freedom in the queen's preſence.

† This argument proves but little; for long before Pythagoras the name *Mamers*, and *Mamercus*, was in uſe among the Tuſcans, or, as others ſay, among the Sabins. For they called *Mars Mamers*, from whence comes *Mavors*; and *Mamers* is derived from the Greek word Μαμερτός.

‡ This was one of the moſt conſiderable families in Rome, being divided into ſeveral branches, ſuch as the Lepidi, the Pauli, and Papi, who were all Æmilians.

‖ The Greek word *Aimulos* ſignifies, *mild, gentle, graceful.*

The

The original inſtitution of the chief prieſts, who are called *Pontifices* *, is generally aſcribed to Numa; and it is ſaid † that he himſelf was the firſt of them. The reaſon why they were called ‡ *Pontifices*, ſome will have to be becauſe they attend the ſervice of the gods, who have power and dominion over all things: for *potens* in the Roman language is *powerful*. Others ſay the name was given in reſpect of things poſſible to be done, becauſe the lawgiver commanded the prieſts to perform all ſuch divine offices as were poſſible, not charging them with a fault when they were hindered by any great impediment. But moſt authors approve that etymology ‖ which to me ſeems moſt ridiculous, as if theſe *Pontifices* were ſo called upon account of ſacrifices made upon the bridge, which are looked upon as the moſt ſacred and of greateſt antiquity; for the Latins call a bridge *pontem*; and the keeping and repairing of this was as much the office of the prieſts as the moſt cuſtomary and indiſpenſable ſacrifices; the Romans thinking it an execrable impiety, to demoliſh the wooden bridge, which, it is ſaid, was, by appointment of the oracle, built only of timber, and faſtened with wooden pins, without nails or cramps of iron. The ſtone bridge was built many ages after, when Æmilius was queſtor.

* Numa created four, of which the firſt was called *Pontifex Maximus*. Theſe were all of Patrician families. In the year of Rome 453 they added four plebeians to the former number, and in Sylla's time they created fifteen of them.

† I am of opinion, that either Plutarch, or thoſe he copied after, were led into a miſtake from the conformity of the name. The Pontiff firſt choſen was indeed called *Numa*; but it was not Numa the king, but Numa Marcius, the ſon of Marcius one of the ſenators.

‡ It is moſt reaſonable to think that *Pontifex* is for *Potifex*, *qui poteſt facere*, *who had a right to ſacrifice*; that is, who had the ſuperintendency of the ſacrifices, and conſequently of all their other religious ceremonies. The *n* in *Pontifex* might be afterwards added; as they ſaid *quotiens* inſtead of *quoties*, and *totiens* inſtead of *toties*.

‖ And yet Varro, and Dionyſius after him, thought that the moſt reaſonable.

However there are ſome who ſay that this wooden bridge was not ſo old as the time of Numa, but was finiſhed by Ancus Marcius, who was grandſon of Numa by his daughter.

The chief of theſe *Pontifices*, or *Pontifex Maximus*, bore the office of an interpreter of religion, or rather of a preſident of ſacred rites; and had not only the care of the public ceremonies, but alſo the inſpection of ſuch as offered ſacrifices in private, not ſuffering them to vary from the orders eſtabliſhed by law, but directing what was neceſſary for any one either in worſhipping or ſupplicating the Gods. He was alſo overſeer of the Veſtals. For to Numa is attributed the ſacred inſtitution of Veſtal virgins, and the religious manner of ordering the perpetual fire, which was committed to their keeping, either becauſe it was thought proper that ſuch a pure and incorrupt ſubſtance as that of fire ſhould be committed to the care of perſons whoſe bodies were chaſte and unpolluted; or becauſe being unfruitful and producing nothing, it was the fitteſt emblem of the ſteril condition of virginity; for in Greece where-ever perpetual holy fire is kept, as at Delphi and Athens, the care of it is committed not to virgins, but to widows, who are paſt the years of marriage. And if by any accident this fire becomes extinct, (as the holy lamp was at Athens, under the tyranny of * Ariſtion; and at Delphi, when that temple was burnt by the Medes; and at Rome, in the time of the war with Mithridates, and in the civil wars, when not only the fire was extinguiſhed, but the altar demoliſhed); they ſay it is not lawful to light it again from any other fire, but it muſt be renewed by kindling a pure and unpolluted flame from the ſun. This flame they generally kindle by

* This Ariſtion held out a long time againſt Sylla, who had laid ſiege to Athens. He committed innumerable outrages in the city, and was at laſt the cauſe of its being ſacked and plundered. See the life of Sylla.

means

means of certain concave veſſels of ſuch a figure * as is formed by the revolution of a rectangular triangle which has two equal ſides; and as all the lines drawn from the circumference of this figure meet in one central point, when theſe veſſels are placed againſt the ſun in ſuch a poſition that the reflected rays are collected and united at the centre, then they rarefy the air, and immediately kindle the lighteſt and drieſt parts of the fuel applied, the ſun-beams by the reflection acquiring the force and violence of fire. Some are of opinion that theſe Veſtals had no other buſineſs than to take care of this fire; but ſome conceive, that they were keepers of other divine myſteries, which are concealed from all but themſelves; of which we have made mention in the life of Camillus, ſo far as reſpect to religion would allow us either to know or relate. It is reported, that at firſt only two virgins were conſecrated by Numa, whoſe names were *Gegania* and *Verania*; afterwards two others, Canuleia and Tarpeia: to theſe † Servius Tullius added two more, which number hath continued to this time.

It was preſcribed by the king, that theſe holy virgins ſhould preſerve an unſpotted chaſtity for the ſpace of thirty years; the firſt ten whereof they ſpent in learning the ceremonies and duties of their office; then for the next ten years they exerciſed the ſacerdotal function, and practiſed what they had learned before; and the remaining ten they employed in teaching others. The whole term being completed, ſhe that pleaſed was allowed to marry, and

* Plutarch's deſcription of this figure is not accurate. His meaning is, that theſe mirrors were of a parabolic figure: the ancient mathematicians before Apollonius Pergæus called that conic ſection which now has the name of *parabola*, *The ſection of the rectangled cone*, which cone is formed by the revolution of a rectangular triangle of two equal ſides: for they did not know that the ſame figure would be produced by the ſection of any cone.

† Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays it was Tarquinius Priſcus.

to

to betake herſelf to any other kind of life, quitting the exerciſe of the ſacred function. But it is ſaid that there were but few who ever choſe to uſe this liberty; and that thoſe who did, were never happy, but wore out the reſt of their lives in continual regret and melancholy, which threw the others into ſuch a ſuperſtitious fear of the like, that they choſe to continue till old age and the hour of death in their ſtrict rules and ſingle life.

Numa granted theſe women very great privileges. They had power to make a will in the lifetime of their father; they were allowed the adminiſtration of their own affairs without guardian or tutor, as women now are who are mothers of three children; when they went abroad *, they had the faſces carried before them; and if they happened to meet a malefactor leading to execution, he was immediately freed from death †, provided the Veſtal made oath, that their meeting was accidental and undeſigned. Whoſoever went under the chair on which they were carried, was puniſhed with death.

If theſe Veſtals committed any other faults, they were puniſhed with whipping, which puniſhment was inflicted by the high prieſt only, who ſometimes whipped them naked in a dark place, and under the cover of a veil or curtain; but ſhe that had been deflowered, was buried alive near the gate called *Collina*; where within the city a little mount of

* Plutarch is miſtaken in this particular. The Veſtals had not that honour conferred upon them till many ages after, by the triumvirs Auguſtus, Lepidus, and Antony, in the year of Rome 712.

† Here again Plutarch ſeems to be a ſtranger to the cuſtoms and ceremonies of the Romans, who would have thought it a ſort of ſacrilege to have obliged the Veſtals to take an oath. The dignity of their function rendered them ſo venerable, that they were believed without the ſolemnity of an oath. Nay it is an article in the perpetual edict, that is, the edict of the prætors, *Sacerdotem Veſtalem, & flaminem Dialem in omni mea juriſdictione jurare non cogam. Throughout all my juriſdiction I will not oblige a Veſtal virgin or prieſt of Jupiter to take an oath.* Plutarch therefore ſhould have ſaid, *provided ſhe declared*, &c.

earth

earth is raiſed, reaching a good way in length, called in Latin, *Agger*; under it is a little cell, to which there is a deſcent by ſteps. Here they prepare a bed, and light up a lamp, and provide a ſmall quantity of victuals, ſuch as bread, water, milk, and oil; that ſo that body, which had been devoted to the moſt ſacred ſervices of religion, might not periſh by a death ſo deteſtable as that of famine. The condemned perſon is carried to execution through the forum in a litter, covered up and bound in ſuch a manner that her cries cannot be heard; the people ſilently make way for the litter, and follow it without ſpeaking, and with mournful and dejected looks: and indeed there is not a more dreadful ſpectacle than this, nor any day on which the city puts on ſo great an appearance of ſorrow, as on this occaſion. When the litter comes to the appointed place, the officers looſe the cords; and then the high prieſt, lifting up his hands to heaven, and pronouncing ſome certain prayers privately juſt before the fatal minute, leads out the priſoner who is ſtill covered up, and places her upon the ſteps which lead down to the cell; he then retires with the reſt of the prieſts, and when ſhe is gone down, the ſteps are drawn up, and the cell is covered with a great deal of earth thrown upon it, ſo as to make it equal with the reſt of the Agger. Such was the puniſhment of thoſe Veſtals who proved unchaſte.

It is ſaid alſo, that Numa built the temple of Veſta, which was intended for a repoſitory of the holy fire, in an orbicular form, not with a deſign to repreſent the figure of the earth, as if that were Veſta, but the frame of the univerſe, in the centre of which the * Pythagoreans place the element of fire, and give it the name of *Veſta* and *Unity*: but they do not hold that the earth is immoveable, or

* That this was the opinion of Philolaus and other Pythagoreans, is well known; but that Pythagoras himſelf held the earth to be the centre, is affirmed by Diogenes Laertius.

that

that it is ſituated in the middle of the world, but that it has a circular motion about the central fire. Nor do they account the earth among the chief or primary elements. And this, they ſay, was the opinion of Plato, who, in his old age, held that the earth was placed at a diſtance from the centre, for that being the principal place was reſerved for ſome more noble and refined body.

The Pontifices were to give directions, to thoſe who conſulted them, concerning the rites to be obſerved at funerals; Numa having taught them that they ſhould not think they contracted any impurity by ſuch things, but ſhould perform the uſual ſervice to the infernal gods, who then received the moſt noble part of our nature, but more particularly to the goddeſs called *Libitina*, who preſided over the funeral ſolemnities; whether they meant hereby * Proſerpina, or, as ſome of the moſt learned Romans maintain, Venus: for they juſtly attributed both the birth and death of men to the power of the ſame Deity.

Numa alſo regulated the time of mourning, according to the age of the deceaſed. For example, they were not to mourn at all for a child under three years old; nor for one older, more than ſo many months as it was years old, as far as ten. But the longeſt time of mourning for any perſon whatſoever was not to exceed the term of ten months; which alſo was the time appointed for women who had buried their huſbands to continue in the ſtate of widowhood. And ſhe that married again before that time was over, was obliged by the laws of Numa to ſacrifice a cow big with calf †.

Numa

* Venus and Proſerpine were one and the ſame Deity. Her temple was called the temple of *Venus Libitina*. There was likewiſe at Delphi a Venus Epitumbia, Sepulchral Venus, who preſided over funerals, and before whom they raiſed up the ſouls of the dead.

† By a ſacrifice ſo ſhameful, and abhorrent to nature, Numa propoſed to keep the women in due bounds, and hinder their marrying again

Numa alſo was founder of ſeveral other orders of prieſts; two of which I ſhall mention, the Salii and the * Feciales; becauſe they are ſtrong proofs of the religious diſpoſition of this prince. Theſe Feciales were in my opinion a ſort of preſervers of peace, or what the Greeks call *Irenophylaces*, and had their name from their office, which was to determine diſputes by amicable conference: for they would not allow arms to be taken up, until all hopes of an accommodation were cut off; for by the word *Irene*, or peace, the Greeks mean that ſtate of affairs in which differences are adjuſted by reaſon or diſcourſe, and not by violence or arms. Theſe Feciales were frequently diſpatched to thoſe who had injured the Romans, to require ſatisfaction; if this was denied, they then called the gods to witneſs, and uttered many dreadful imprecations both upon themſelves and their country, if their undertaking were not juſt, and ſo denounced war. Without the conſent of the Feciales it was not lawful for any private ſoldier, nor even the Roman king himſelf, to take up arms; the war was to begin from them,

gain till the days of mourning were expired. Their mourning habit was of black, without gold, purple, or any ſort of trimming. On ſome occaſions they were allowed to quit it for a time, and then put it on again; as when a father, brother, or ſon returned from ſlavery; when ſome of the family were advanced to any conſiderable employment; at the celebration of the feaſt of Ceres; and on a thankſgiving to the gods for any remarkable and fortunate event, whether public or domeſtic.

* It is ſaid that Numa borrowed this inſtitution from the old inhabitants of Latium, or from thoſe of Ardea. It is not to be doubted but it was firſt introduced into Italy by the Pelaſgi, who had always ſome perſons of a ſacred character that marched at the head of their armies, without any other arms or weapons than a caduceus adorned with fillets. Dionyſius attributes to the inſtitution of this order all the good ſucceſs that attended the Romans in their wars. *For*, ſays he, *becauſe the Romans never embarked in any war without juſt motives, therefore have they been always favoured with the divine aſſiſtance, and been bleſſed with ſucceſs.* Theſe Feciales were likewiſe called *Oratores*, which would incline one to believe they were ſo called, not from *facere*, *to do*, but from *fari*, *to ſpeak*.

and

and when they had determined it to be juſt; the king might deliberate concerning the conduct of it. It is ſaid, that the ſlaughter and deſtruction which the Gauls made of the Romans, was the conſequence of neglecting this religious proceeding. For while this barbarous nation was beſieging Cluſium, Fabius Ambuſtus was ſent to their camp with propoſitions of peace in favour of the beſieged; but receiving a rude and peremptory anſwer, and therefore imagining that his office of ambaſſador was at an end, he raſhly took arms for the Cluſians, and challenged the braveſt of the enemy to a ſingle combat. It was the fortune of Fabius to kill his adverſary, and to take his ſpoils; but when the Gauls diſcovered who he was, they ſent a herald to Rome to complain againſt Fabius, who, contrary to faith and juſtice, had taken arms againſt them without any declaration of war. The matter being debated in the ſenate, the Feciales were of opinion, that Fabius ought to be delivered into the hands of the Gauls: but he, appealing to the people, by their protection and favour was ſecured, and eſcaped the ſentence. And ſoon after this the Gauls marched to Rome, and ſacked the whole city, except the capitol; as we have at large related in the life of Camillus.

As to the prieſts called *Salii*, they are ſaid to have been inſtituted upon the following occaſion *. In the eighth year of the reign of Numa, a terrible peſtilence, which was ſpread over all Italy, did likewiſe miſerably infeſt the city of Rome. During the conſternation which this calamity produced, it is reported that a brazen target fell from heaven in-

* There were only twelve of theſe at firſt inſtituted by Numa, according to the number of the ſhields which they were to carry; and they were choſen out of the beſt families in Rome. But afterwards their number was increaſed. In their proceſſion they ſung a ſet of verſes called *Carmen Saliare*, compoſed by Numa, which in Quintilian's time were grown ſo obſolete that the Salii themſelves hardly underſtood them.

to

to the hands of Numa; and that the king himſelf gave this wonderful account of it, which he had learned from the nymph Egeria and the Muſes, that it was ſent from heaven for the cure and ſafety of the city; and that it was to be kept with the greateſt care imaginable, which was to be done by making eleven others, ſo like in dimenſions and form to the original, that in caſe there ſhould be a deſign to ſteal it away, the true one might not be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe which were counterfeited. He further declared, that he was commanded to conſecrate to the Muſes that place and the meadows about it where he had been uſed to converſe with them; and that the ſpring which watered that field ſhould be made ſacred, and appropriated to the uſe of the Veſtal virgins, who were daily to waſh their temple with thoſe waters. It is ſaid, that the truth of this account was confirmed by the immediate ceſſation of the peſtilence. Numa having produced the target, and commanded the beſt artiſts to try their ſkill, and vie with each other in making an exact likeneſs; all of them deſpaired of coming up to it, except Veturius Mamurius, an excellent workman, who ſucceeded ſo well, and made them all ſo perfectly to reſemble the true one, that Numa himſelf could not diſtinguiſh the original from the copy. The keeping of theſe targets was committed to the care of the prieſts called *Salii*, who did not receive their name, as ſome imagine, from one Salius, who was born at Samothrace, or at Mantinea, and who taught the way of dancing in arms, but rather from that kind of jumping dance which the Salii themſelves uſe *, when in the month of March they carry the ſacred targets through the city. At this proceſſion they are habited in a purple veſt, girt with a broad belt of braſs; on their heads they wear a brazen helmet, and carry ſhort ſwords in

* The word *ſalire* ſignifies *to dance*.

their hands, with which they ſtrike upon the targets. The reſt of the dance they perform with their feet; and this part of it has indeed a very pleaſing effect; for it conſiſts of ſeveral intricate turnings and involutions in a quick meaſure, in which they ſhow at once ſtrength, agility, and graceful eaſe. Theſe targets were called *ancylia*, from the form of them; for they were not round, nor like the *peltæ* ſemilunar; but their ſides were two crooked indented lines, which turned in towards each other and joined at the ends; and from this curve figure (in Greek *anculon*) they had their name. Or elſe they might be ſo named from *ancon*, which ſignifies that part of the arm which is between the wriſt and the elbow, and on which the ſhield is carried. Theſe are the accounts which Juba gives of them, out of his great deſire to make the name Greek. But if the name is to be derived from the Greek, it may as well come from *anecathen*, which expreſſes its being ſent from above; or from *akeſis*, which ſignifies the cure of diſeaſes; or from *auchmon luſis*, a deliverance from drought; or from *anaſcheſis*, preſervation from calamities, whence it is that the Athenians called Caſtor and Pollux *Anacas*. It is reported, that the reward which Mamurius received for this his art, was to be commemorated in a ſong, which the Salii ſang as they danced through the city. But though ſome are of opinion that they ſung *Veturium Mamurium*, others ſay it was *veterem memoriam*, which is *ancient remembrance*.

After Numa had in this manner inſtituted theſe ſeveral orders of prieſts, he erected a royal palace, which is ſtill called *regia*. There he ſpent moſt of his time in the offices of religion, or in inſtructing the prieſts, or in converſing with them on divine ſubjects. He had alſo another houſe upon the mount Quirinalis; the place where it ſtood they ſhow to this day. In all public proceſſions, and, in general, in all proceſſions of the prieſts, heralds were

were ſent before to give notice to the people, that they ſhould keep holiday, and forbear their ordinary labour. For as they ſay, that the Pythagoreans did not allow men to pay to the gods only a ſlight or caſual worſhip, but obliged them to go directly from their houſes with minds prepared for the purpoſe; ſo Numa in like manner decreed, that his citizens ſhould not be careleſs or inattentive when they ſaw or heard any religious ſervice performed; but, laying aſide all other affairs, ſhould apply their meditations to religion, as a buſineſs of the greateſt moment; and that the ſtreets ſhould be clear from noiſe and clamour, and all ſuch obſtructions as are the uſual effects of manual labour, that no diſturbance might be given to the holy ſolemnity. Something of this cuſtom ſtill remains at Rome; for when the conſul is employed either in taking an augury, or ſacrificing, they call out to the people, *Hoc age*, or, *Do this*, whereby the auditors are admoniſhed to recollect and compoſe themſelves. And many other of his inſtitutions have a great reſemblance to thoſe of the Pythagoreans: for as they had ſuch precepts as theſe, *Thou ſhalt not ſit on a peck meaſure* *: *Thou ſhalt not ſtir the fire with a ſword* †: *When thou goeſt out upon a journey, look not behind thee* ‡: *When thou ſacrificeſt to the celeſtial gods, let it be with an odd number; and when to the terreſtrial, let it be with an even number* ‖; the meaning of which they would not diſcloſe to the

* That is, thou ſhalt not give thyſelf up to idleneſs, but labour daily; for he that does not work ought not to live.

† That is, thou ſhalt not irritate him who is already in a paſſion.

‡ This ſymbol is related in a different manner, and Plutarch himſelf gives it this turn on another occaſion, *Never return from the borders*: but it comes to the ſame thing; for by it is meant, that a man ought to die courageouſly and full of hope, without any hankering after life.

‖ For the odd number is more perfect, and the ſymbol of concord, becauſe it cannot be divided into two equal parts, as the even number may, which is therefore the ſymbol of diviſion. And for the ſame reaſon the firſt month was conſecrated to the celeſtial, and the ſecond to the terreſtrial deities.

vulgar: ſo ſome of Numa's inſtitutions have a concealed meaning; ſuch as theſe: *Thou ſhalt not offer to the gods wine proceeding from a vine which was never pruned. No ſacrifices ſhall be performed without meal* *. *Turn round in adoration of the gods*, and *ſit down when you have worſhipped.* The two firſt precepts ſeem to recommend the cultivating the earth as a part of religion; and as to the turning, which the worſhippers are to uſe in divine adoration, it is ſaid to be in imitation of the circular motion of the world. But, in my opinion, the meaning rather is, that becauſe, as the temples opened towards the eaſt, they who entered them turned their backs upon the riſing ſun, conſequently they were obliged to turn half round to face the eaſt; and they afterwards completed the circle ſo as to finiſh their prayers with their face towards the god of the temple. Unleſs, perhaps, this change of poſture may have a myſtical meaning, like the Egyptian wheels †, and ſignify to us the inſtability of human fortune; and that which way ſoever God ſhould change and turn our condition of life, we ſhould be pleaſed and ſatisfied with our lot. As to the ſitting after worſhip, they ſay it denoted that their prayers were effectual, and that the bleſſings they had aſked would be firm and durable. They ſay too, that as different actions are divided by intervals of reſt, therefore one buſineſs being completed, they ſat down in the preſence of the gods, that from them they might begin another.

* There are two reaſons for this precept. The firſt is what Plutarch mentions in this place; it is to recommend agriculture; for unleſs the land be cultivated, no grain is to be expected. The ſecond is to wean men from ſacrifices of blood, and to induce them to offer to the gods nothing but cakes, or figures of victims formed in paſte.

† Clemens Alexandrinus quotes a paſſage out of a grammarian, called *Dionyſius of Thrace*, who writes, that the Egyptian prieſts preſented to ſuch as came to offer up their prayers in their temples, a wheel which they turned about, and ſome flowers. The wheel was deſigned to make them reflect on the inſtability of human affairs, and the flowers were to remind them of the ſhortneſs of life, which fades ſoon like flowers.

But

But this ceremony may perhaps refer to what we mentioned before; and the lawgiver might intend by this to teach us not to ſupplicate the gods tranſiently, or in a hurry, but when we have time and leiſure from worldly buſineſs. By ſuch religious diſcipline as this, the city became ſo tractable, and ſtood in ſuch awe and reverence of the power of Numa, that they received for truth the moſt abſurd fables, and thought nothing incredible or impoſſible which he affirmed or undertook.

It is ſaid, that he once invited a great number of citizens to an entertainment, in which the veſſels were mean, and the repaſt itſelf plain and homely. The gueſts being ſeated, he began to tell them, that the goddeſs with whom he uſed to converſe was then juſt coming in; when on a ſudden the room was furniſhed with all ſorts of precious veſſels, and the table covered with a moſt magnificent entertainment *. But the dialogue which is reported to have paſſed between him and Jupiter, is beyond all imagination abſurd. The ſtory is this. Before Mount Aventine was inhabited, or incloſed within the walls of the city, while it was full of ſprings and ſhady groves, two demi-gods, *Picus* and *Faunus*, uſed to frequent it, whom on other accounts one might ſuppoſe to have been ſatyrs, or of the Titanian race †, except only that they went about

* The machines that wrought this miracle muſt have been ſkilfully contrived, if the change had been made in the preſence of all the Romans, and whilſt they were at table; but Dionyſius, a very judicious writer, tells it after a more probable manner. He ſays, that Numa ordered theſe Romans to attend him in the morning; and that he led them into all the apartments of his palace, where nothing was to be ſeen but very ordinary furniture, without any tokens of an entertainment deſigned for a great number of gueſts. That he diſmiſſed them not till it was very late in the day, and at the ſame time invited them to ſup with him that evening; that at their return they found every thing magnificently rich, the couches exceeding coſtly, the table ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and covered with the greateſt rarities and dainties.

† The printed copies have Τιτάνων, but ſome MSS. have Πάνων, *i. e.* ſuch gods as Pan, which ſeems a better reading.

Italy, ſhowing wonderful feats by the power of pharmacy and magic, in the ſame manner as thoſe whom the Greeks call the *Dactyli* of Mount Ida *. Numa contriving one day to ſurpriſe theſe demigods †, mingled the waters of the fountain, of which they uſually drank, with wine and honey, by which means he eaſily inſnared and took them. As ſoon as they were taken, they changed themſelves into many ſtrange and hideous forms, but at laſt finding it impoſſible to eſcape, they revealed to him many future events; and they alſo taught him a charm for thunder and lightning, compoſed of onions, and hair, and pilchards, and this charm is uſed even to this time. But ſome ſay, that theſe demigods did not diſcover the ſecret of this charm to Numa; but that by the force of their magic art they conſtrained Jove himſelf to deſcend from heaven to ſatisfy the demands of Numa; and that he then, in an angry manner anſwering his inquiries, told him, that *if he would charm the thunder and lightning, he muſt do it with heads. How*, ſaid Numa, *with the heads of onions? No*, replied Jupiter, *of men.* But Numa, to elude this cruel command, anſwered, *Your meaning is the hairs of mens heads. No*, replied Jupiter, *with living —— Pilchards*, ſaid Numa, interrupting him. Theſe anſwers he was taught to make by the Goddeſs Egeria. Hereupon, they ſay, Jupiter went away pacified, and from his being ſo

* Theſe Dactyli were the ſame with the Curetes, with whom Rhea intruſted the guardianſhip of Jupiter whilſt he was yet in his infancy. They were in number five, or as ſome ſay ten, and all of Mount Ida in Crete. As they were benevolent to mankind, they had honours paid to them as to demigods. Their very name was looked on as an infallible preſervative, and was always pronounced in a terrible fright, or imminent danger. There were likewiſe ſtones called *Dactyli Idæi*, which were of a ſovereign virtue, and of which they made amulets, and wore them on their thumbs.

† This whole ſtory is in Ovid's *Faſti. lib.* 3. where he gives an account of the Salii and Ancylia.

the

the place was called *Ilicius* *; and thus was this charm effected. Theſe fabulous and ridiculous ſtories ſerve to ſhow the religious turn of mens minds in that age, which they had acquired by long habit. And Numa himſelf is ſaid to have been poſſeſſed with ſuch a confidence in the gods, that when it was once told him, the enemy was coming, he only ſmiled, and ſaid, *And I am ſacrificing*.

He is alſo ſaid to have been † the firſt that built a temple to Faith, and to Terminus ‡; and to have taught the Romans, that to ſwear by Faith was the moſt ſolemn of all oaths; and this oath they continue to uſe to this day. Terminus is the god of Bounds, and to him they ſacrifice both publicly and privately, upon the boundaries of their lands. Now, indeed, they ſacrifice living creatures; but anciently thoſe ſacrifices were ſolemniſed without blood, it being the doctrine of Numa, that the god of bounds, who was a preſerver of peace, and witneſs of juſtice among them, ought to be kept pure and unpolluted from blood and ſlaughter. It is very certain, that it was this king who firſt preſcribed bounds to the territories of Rome; for

* *i. e.* from ἵλεως, which ſignifies *propitious*; but this ſeems to be Plutarch's miſtake. For Jupiter was called *Elicius*, from the word *elicere*, as Ovid informs us upon this very occaſion. *Faſt. lib.* 3.

Eliciunt cœlo te, Jupiter, unde minores
Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.

† This he did, that a promiſe might, without the formalties of writings and witneſſes, be as valid and effectual as the moſt ſolemn contracts. And Polybius gives this honourable teſtimony of the Romans, that they moſt inviolably kept their word without being obliged to it by bail, witneſs, or promiſe; whereas ten ſecurities, twenty promiſes, and as many witneſſes, would have no effect upon the faithleſs Greeks, whom nothing could oblige to be honeſt.

‡ This Terminus was a ſtone, a boundary conſecrated to Jupiter Terminalis, or the god of the borders. That the people might be brought to content themſelves with their own poſſeſſions, and not encroach upon their neighbours, Numa ordained, that not only every private perſon, but even the public ſhould diſtinguiſh their lands by landmarks, and that whoever removed them ſhould be devoted to Jupiter Terminalis, after which he might be ſlain with impunity.

Romulus

Romulus would never go about to make ſo plain a confeſſion how much he had encroached on his neighbours lands, as he muſt have done by ſetting limits to his own; for as bounds are fences againſt arbitrary invaſions, to thoſe who obſerve them, ſo they are evidences of the injuſtice of thoſe who violate them. The truth is, the portion of lands which belonged to the city of Rome at the beginning, was very narrow; but Romulus by war greatly enlarged it. All this land Numa divided amongſt the indigent part of the citizens, that by this means he might keep them from extreme want, which is the neceſſary cauſe of mens injuring one another, and might turn the minds of the people to huſbandry, whereby themſelves as well as their land would become better cultivated and more tractable. For there is no way of life that either ſo ſoon or ſo powerfully produces the love of peace, as the profeſſion of huſbandry, whereby ſo much courage is preſerved as enables men to fight in defence of their own, but that violence and impetuoſity which breaks out in acts of injuſtice and encroachment upon others is checked and reſtrained. Wherefore Numa engaged his citizens in agriculture as the ſureſt means to make them in love with peace, and choſe it for them as an employment fitted rather to improve the temper, than to procure great riches. He divided all the lands into ſeveral parcels, to each of which he gave the name of *pagus* or *borough*, and over each of them he appointed governors and overſeers. And ſometimes he would himſelf in perſon take a ſurvey of them; and making a judgment of every man's inclinations and manners, by the improvements he had made, he preferred thoſe to honours and authority who had merited moſt; and excited to induſtry by his reproofs the ſlothful and indolent. But among all his political inſtitutions, that which is moſt admired, is his diſtribution of the people into companies, according to their ſeveral

ral arts and profeſſions. For, as the city conſiſted of, or rather was divided, as we have ſaid, into two nations which could not by any means be united, it being impoſſible to efface the ſtrangeneſs and difference between them, and the perpetual claſhing and contention of the two parties; having conſidered that hard bodies, and ſuch as are not eaſily mixed ſo long as they remain in their groſs bulk, by being beaten into powder, are often united and incorporated together, he determined to diſtribute the whole people into many leſſer diviſions, and thus by caſting them into other diſtinctions, to aboliſh that firſt and great diſtinction, which was by this means ſcattered into ſmaller parts. This diſtribution was made according to the ſeveral arts or trades, of muſicians, goldſmiths, maſons, dyers, ſhoemakers, tanners, braſiers, and potters; and ſo of other artificers, who were all reduced into companies, to each of which were appointed their reſpective halls, courts, and ceremonies of religion proper to their ſeveral ſocieties. Thus it was, that he firſt baniſhed out of the city the cuſtom of calling and reputing one a *Sabine*, another a *Roman*, one a *partiſan of Tatius*, another *of Romulus*; ſo that this diſtribution became the means of uniting and mixing all of them perfectly together.

Among the reſt of his political inſtitutions is likewiſe highly approved his amendment of that law, which gives power to fathers to ſell their children *; for he exempted ſuch as were married from that

* Romulus had allowed fathers a greater power over their children than maſters had over their ſlaves. A maſter could ſell his ſlave only once; whereas a father might ſell his ſon three times, let him be of what age or condition ſoever. The law runs thus: *Si pater filium ter venunduit, filius a patre liber eſto.* "When a father has ſold his ſon a third time, the ſon is no longer under the power of his father." In Greece the father's power over his children was not ſo abſolute, and it ceaſed when they became of age. Whereupon Dionyſius obſerves, that there were more undutiful children among the Greeks than among the Romans.

ſubjection,

ſubjection, upon condition that they had matched themſelves with the conſent of their parents; for it ſeemed very hard and unjuſt, that a woman, who had given herſelf in marriage to a man whom ſhe judged free, ſhould afterwards find herſelf bound to live with a ſlave.

He attempted alſo the reformation of the calendar, which he executed, though not with abſolute exactneſs, yet with conſiderable ſkill. For, during the reign of Romulus, they made uſe of months which had no certain rule or meaſure; for to ſome of them they aſſigned leſs than twenty days, to others thirty-five, and to others more. They had no idea of the difference between the motions of the ſun and moon: only they kept to this rule, that the whole year contained 360 days. But Numa obſerving that there was eleven days difference between the lunar and the ſolar year; the lunar conſiſting of 354 days, and the ſolar of 365: to remedy this inequality, he doubled the eleven days, and every other year after the month of February he added an intercalary month of two and twenty days, which the Romans called the month *Mercidinus* *. But this his amendment of the irregularity did in time require a further amendment †. He alſo changed the order of the months: for

* Plutarch is the only author who mentions the name of this intercalary month. In the life of Julius Cæſar he calls it *Mercedonius*. The reaſon of the name is uncertain.

† The calendar had been reviſed five or ſix times after it had been ſettled by Numa, and before Julius Cæſar; but what Plutarch ſpeaks of here is the reformation made by Julius. For in ſpite of all former corrections, ſuch a diſorder had crept in, that the ſummer ceaſed to be the time of harveſt, the autumn of vintage, and the winter months came to be reckoned in the ſumer ſeaſon. Cæſar therefore ordained that the year ſhould be ſolar, that is, that it ſhould conſiſt of 365 days, and ſix hours; and that at the end of every fourth year there ſhould be an intercalary day, compoſed of the ſix hours which had been the exceſs of each preceding year reſpectively. Cæſar was not the inventor of this ſcheme, which had been known long before by the Greeks, and almoſt all other nations; but he ordained the obſervance of it.

March,

March, which was reckoned the firſt, he put into the third place; January, which in the time of Romulus was the eleventh, he made the firſt; and February, which was the twelfth and laſt, to be the ſecond. Some ſay, that Numa entirely added the two months of January and February; and that originally they uſed but ten months to the year; as ſome barbarous nations had only three; and among the Greeks the Arcadians had only four, and the Acarnanians ſix. The Egyptian year *, they ſay, conſiſted at firſt of one month, afterwards of four. And therefore though they inhabit a new country †, yet they ſeem to be a very ancient people, and reckon an incredible number of years in their chronology, becauſe they account months for years ‡. And that the Romans at firſt comprehended the whole year within ten, and not twelve months, appears from the name of that which is laſt in order; for to this day they call it *December* ‖, [*i. e.* the tenth

* This is the imagination of thoſe who labour to make the vain computation of the Egyptians conſiſtent with the truth, for they reckoned a ſucceſſion of kings for the ſpace of 36,000 years and upwards; but the falſity of this is evident from the Holy Scripture. Herodotus ſays, that the Egyptians were the firſt that began to compute by years, and that they made the year conſiſt of twelve months.

† I cannot conceive where Plutarch learned that Egypt was a new country, for on the contrary it is very ancient, as we learn from Scripture. In Iſaiah, the Pharaohs kings of Egypt call themſelves ſons of the ancient kings who had governed Egypt from the beginning of time. And we know that at the time when Abraham went down into Egypt, it had for a long time before that been governed by kings.

‡ This was not becauſe their year conſiſted of but one month only, but becauſe of the fabulous reigns of their gods and demigods, which they falſely added to the catalogue of their kings that had actually reigned.

‖ This way of reaſoning in Plutarch might be as fallacious when applied to that age, as it would be if applied to this. For ſuppoſing the year to end with a month which is called the *tenth*, it does not therefore follow that it had not twelve. The month of December might be ſo called, not becauſe the year had no more than ten, but becauſe at firſt the year commencing with the month of March, December was the tenth in order, and was followed by January and

tenth month]; and that March was the firſt, is likewiſe evident, becauſe the fifth month after it was called *Quintilis*, and the ſixth *Sextilis*, and ſo the reſt. For if January and February had in this account preceded March, the forementioned month [*Quintilis*] would be the fifth in name, but the ſeventh in order of reckoning. And beſides, it is very probable, that the month of March, which was by Romulus dedicated to Mars, was called the *firſt*, and April the *ſecond*, which has its name from *Aphrodite* *, [or *Venus*]; for in this month the women ſacrifice to that goddeſs †, and are bathed on the kalends, or firſt day of it, with myrtle garlands on their heads. But others ſay, *Aprilis* is not from *Aphrodite*, but being written with *p*, and not with *ph*, it is rather to be deduced from the word *aperio*, which in Latin ſignifies *to open*, becauſe this month is in the height of ſpring, when all buds and flowers open and diſcloſe themſelves. The next is called *May*, from *Maia*, the mother of Mercury; for to Mercury this month was ſacred. *June* is ſo called from *Juno*. But there are ſome who ſay, that theſe two months have their names from the two ages,

and February, which were the eleventh and laſt. For this reaſon Feneſtella and Licinius Macer have refuted Plutarch's opinion, as entirely contrary to all antiquity, and have maintained that the ancient year, before the foundation of Rome, conſiſted of 354 or 355 days, and conſequently of twelve months, ſince their months were lunar; as is manifeſtly proved by the ancient way of counting by calends, nones, and ides, which was in uſe before Romulus, for it was practiſed by the Latins.

* Romulus having given the name of his father Mars to the firſt month of the year, thought fit to give to the ſecond that of the mother of Æneas, which was Venus; that the two firſt months of the year might bear the names of the two divinities, to which the Roman empire owed its beginning. But Cincius looks on this as a childiſh account, and approves of the ſecond etymology mentioned here by Plutarch. Ovid takes notice of both, but ſeems to prefer the former.

† On the firſt of April all the married women ſacrificed to Venus, at the ſame time bathing her ſtatue, and themſelves likewiſe; they alſo offered incenſe to Fortuna Virilis, deſiring her to conceal from their huſbands their defects, if they had any.

Old

Old and *Young*; for in Latin the older men are called *majores*, and the younger *juniores*. To the other months they gave denominations according to their order; thus the fifth was called *Quintilis*, the ſixth *Sextilis*; and ſo the reſt, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. Afterwards Quintilis was called *July*, from the name of *Julius Cæſar*, who overcame Pompey; and Sextilis was called *Auguſt*, from the ſecond Cæſar, who was named *Auguſtus*. Domitian * gave the two following months his two names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, for a little while; but, he being ſlain, they recovered their ancient denominations of *September* and *October*; only the two laſt, November and December, have kept the names of the order in which they ſtand, without alteration from the beginning. As for the months which were either added, or at leaſt tranſpoſed in their order, by Numa, February may be looked upon as the month of purification, for ſo the name, which comes from the word *Februo*, ſignifies; and then it is they offer ſacrifice to the dead †, and celebrate the feaſt of Lupercalia, which in many ceremonies agrees with the ſolemnities uſed on the days of luſtration. *January*, the firſt month, is ſo called from Janus; and it ſeems to me very probable, that Numa removed the month of *March*, which is ſo called from Mars, out of its precedency, with a deſign to ſignify his preferring political virtues before martial, in all reſpects. For this Janus in ancient times, whether he were demigod or king, being a great politician, and one that ſtudied the good of ſociety, is ſaid to have reclaimed men from a barbarous and ſavage manner of life; for which reaſon they figure

* He cauſed himſelf to be called *Germanicus*, and gave his two names to thoſe two months, becauſe he was born in the one, and advanced to the empire in the other.

† This feſtival was called *feralia*, and was celebrated on the eleventh day of the month, when they uſed to carry ſome little offering to the graves of their deceaſed friends.

him with two faces, which repreſent the two different ſtates and diſpoſitions of mankind. He has a temple at Rome with two gates, which they call *the gates of war:* for it is the cuſtom for this temple to ſtand open in time of war, and to be ſhut in time of peace; of which latter there was very ſeldom an example: for when the Roman empire was enlarged, it was ſo encompaſſed with barbarous nations and enemies, that it was ſeldom or never at peace. Only in the time of Auguſtus Cæſar *, after he had overcome Anthony, that temple was ſhut: as likewiſe once before for a little time, when Caius Atilius and Titus Manlius were conſuls; but a new war breaking out, it was ſoon opened again. During the reign of Numa it was never ſeen open one day, but continued conſtantly ſhut for forty-three years together. So entire a ceſſation of war was there on all ſides. For not only the people of Rome were tamed and ſoftened by the juſt and mild government of their prince, but all the cities round about, as if ſome gentle breeze or ſalutary air had blown from Rome upon them, began to change their temper; and a general inclination to peace

* It was ſhut three times by Auguſtus. The firſt was after the defeat of Anthony, in the year of Rome 714; the ſecond four years after, that is, in 718; and the third a little before the birth of our Saviour, in the year 750; though others place this laſt time in 733, after the Parthian peace. How comes it therefore that Plutarch takes notice only of the firſt? In all likelihood he was miſled by a paſſage in Livy, who, in his firſt book, tells us, *Bis deinde poſt Numæ regnum clauſus fuit, ſemel Tito Manlio conſule, poſt Punicum primum confectum bellum: iterum, quod noſtræ ætati dii dederunt ut videremus, poſt bellum Actiacum, ab imperatore Cæſare Auguſto. This temple has been ſhut twice ſince the reign of Numa: firſt when Titus Manlius was conſul, upon the concluſion of the firſt Punic war. We have had the happineſs to ſee it ſhut a ſecond time by the emperor Cæſar Auguſtus, after the defeat at Actium.* Plutarch ought to have conſidered that Livy's firſt book was wrote immediately after Auguſtus had ſhut it the firſt time, and conſequently between that and the ſecond ſhutting of it. But this is not all: Plutarch is again miſtaken; for this temple was ſhut a ſixth time by Veſpaſian after his triumph over the Jews. Nero alone ſhut it five times; but he did it without any grounds, as well in times of war as in peace;

and

and good government was infuſed into all, ſo that every one applied himſelf to the management of his lands and farm, to the quiet education of his children, and the worſhip of the gods: feſtivals, ſocial banquets, mutual benevolence, and kind entertainment of friends, viſiting and converſing freely without fear or jealouſy, were the common practice over all Italy; while from Numa's wiſdom, as from a fountain, flowed univerſal integrity and juſtice, and his calm tranquillity diffuſed itſelf around every way. So that the high and hyperbolical expreſſions of the poets are ſaid to fall ſhort in deſcribing the happy ſtate of thoſe days;

In ſev'nfold ſhields her web the ſpider weaves,
And ruſt the faulchion of its edge bereaves;
No more is heard the brazen trumpet's roar,
And from our eyes ſweet ſleep is ſtol'n no more *.

For, during the whole reign of Numa, there was neither war, nor ſedition, nor any innovation deſigned in the ſtate; nor even ſo much as any envy or ill-will to the perſon of the prince; nor was there any plot or conſpiracy formed againſt him from ambitious views. But whether it proceeded from the fear of the gods who were thought to take an eſpecial care of him; or from a reverence for his virtue; or whether it was only the ſingular good fortune of his time, that men lived peaceable and innocent, and were averſe to violence and miſchief; his reign afforded a ſtrong example and proof of what Plato ventured to deliver long after, in relation to a well-formed commonwealth, *That then only the evils of human life will be effectually cured, when, by ſome happy conjunction of events, royal authority and a philoſophical mind meeting in the ſame perſon, virtue ſhall be raiſed to a ſtate of power and ſuperiority over vice.* For the wiſe man is himſelf truly happy; and happy alſo are

* Theſe verſes are part of an ode of Bacchilides.

they who hear and receive his excellent inſtructions. Perhaps there is no need of compulſion or menaces to ſubject the multitude; but when they ſee a ſhining example of virtue in the life of their prince, they will of themſelves grow wiſe, and paſs their lives innocently and happily in mutual friendſhip, and according to the rules of juſtice and moderation. To effect this is the nobleſt end of government; and he is the beſt prince who can regulate the lives and diſpoſitions of his ſubjects in ſuch a manner. Now, this is what Numa ſeems to have had conſtantly in his view more than any other man.

As to his children and wives, there are various accounts given by hiſtorians. Some ſay, that he never had any other wife than Tatia, nor more children than one daughter called *Pompilia*. Others ſay, that beſides her he left four ſons, Pompo, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, each of whom left a ſucceſſion of noble families; for from Pompo came the Pomponii, from Pinus the Pinarii, from Calpus the Calpurnii, and from Mamercus the Mamercii; who for this reaſon had the ſurname of *Reges*, or *kings*. But there is a third ſort of authors who accuſe theſe laſt-mentioned writers as flattering thoſe great families, and affixing to them falſe pedigrees pretended to be deduced from Numa; and affirm, that Pompilia was not his daughter by Tatia, but born of Lucretia, to whom he was married after he came to the kingdom. However all of them agree, that Pompilia was married to Marcius, the ſon of that Marcius who perſuaded Numa to accept of the government: for he accompanied him to Rome, where he was honoured with a place in the ſenate, and, after the death of Numa, was competitor with Tullus Hoſtilius for the kingdom, and being diſappointed of the election, ſtarved himſelf to death. His ſon Marcius, who had married Pompilia, reſided at Rome, and was the father of

Ancus

Ancus Marcius, who ſucceeded Tullus Hoſtilius in the kingdom, and who was, as it is reported, but five years of age when Numa died.

Numa's death was not violent nor ſudden, but being gradually worn away with old age and gentle ſickneſs, as Piſo relates, he at laſt ended his days when he was a little above fourſcore years old. That which completed, all the glories of his life was the honour paid to him at his funeral, when all the people that were in alliance and amity with him met together at his interment, with public preſents and garlands; the ſenators carried the bier on which his corpſe was laid, and the prieſts accompanied the ſolemn proceſſion; all the reſt of the train, in which was a great number even of women and children, followed with ſuch lamentable ſighs and tears, not as if they aſſiſted at the burial of a king worn out with age, but rather as if each of them had then buried his deareſt relation in the prime of life. They did not burn his body *, becauſe it is ſaid he had given a particular command to the contrary: but they made two ſtone coffins, which

* In the earlieſt ages men buried the dead, committing their bodies to the earth, making a religious point of it. The Egyptians, I believe, were the firſt who departed from that primitive ſimplicity, either from a principle of ſuperſtition, or pride. The Greeks followed their example, but in a different manner; for they burnt their dead, and this cuſtom was obſerved during the heroic times; afterwards they returned to the original cuſtom, as is evident from ancient hiſtory, and particularly from the life of Solon. The people of Italy, who had received from the Greeks the cuſtom of burning the dead, retained it much longer, and nothing but Chriſtianity was able to aboliſh it. It is true indeed, that whilſt that cuſtom generally prevailed in Rome, there were ſome entire families who did not obſerve it; the Cornelii for inſtance, who cauſed all that died out of their family to be interred. Sylla was the firſt of them that ordered his corpſe to be burnt, which he did for fear his dead body ſhould receive ſuch treatment as he had ſhown to that of Marius. But what could induce Numa to break an old cuſtom, and order his body to be buried? Without doubt it was owing to that ſpirit of ſimplicity, which ſhined in all his actions; and perhaps the family of the Cornelii followed his example, from a particular veneration they had for the memory of that excellent prince.

they buried under the hill Janiculum, one of which contained his body, and the other contained thoſe books which he had written in the ſame manner as ſome legiſlators among the Greeks wrote their tables of laws. He having in his lifetime perfectly taught the prieſts all that he had written, and habituated them to the practice of every particular, commanded that theſe ſacred books ſhould be buried with his body, as if he thought ſuch ſacred myſteries could not be kept and conveyed with ſufficient reſpect in lifeleſs writing *. For this very reaſon, they ſay, the Pythagoreans would not commit their precepts to writing, but only imprinted them upon the memory of ſuch as were worthy to receive them. And when their method of ſolving abſtruſe problems in geometry happened to be diſcovered to one of the unworthy, they gave out that the gods threatened to puniſh ſuch profaneneſs by ſome ſtrange and terrible calamity †. Upon which account we may more eaſily pardon the miſtake of thoſe who aſſert that Numa and Pythagoras lived at the ſame time and converſed together, ſince there are ſo many inſtances in which they ſo nearly reſemble one another.

Valerius Antias writes, that the books that were buried in the coffin were twelve volumes which treated of the ſacred offices, in Latin, and twelve others in Greek, on philoſophical ſubjects; and that about 400 ‡ years afterwards, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were conſuls, there happened to fall a great rain, by which the earth

* According to Dionyſius, theſe books remained in the hands of the prieſts: for he tells us, that, upon the death of Tullus Hoſtilius, the prieſts delivered them to Ancus Marcius, who cauſed them to be copied upon tables which were ſet up in the Forum for general uſe.

† Iamblichus ſays, that one Hippaſus a Pythagorean periſhed in the ſea for having diſcovered the method of demonſtrating the properties of a dodecædrum inſcribed in a ſphere. *Iamb. de vita Pythag. cap.* 18. & 34.

‡ Plutarch probably wrote *five hundred*, for this accident happened in the year of Rome 573.

that

that covered the coffins was broken away; the violence of the torrent diſplaced the coffins, and the covers falling off, one of them appeared empty, without the leaſt remains of any human body; in the other were the books before mentioned; which when the prætor Petilius had read, he made oath in the ſenate, that in his opinion it was inconſiſtent both with juſtice and religion *, for thoſe books to be made public to the people; whereupon all the volumes were carried to the Forum, and there burnt.

Fame always follows perſons eminent for juſtice and virtue, and it increaſes after they are dead, becauſe the envy raiſed againſt them never outlives them long, and ſome have the happineſs to ſee it die before them. Beſides this, the fortune which befel the ſucceeding kings made the glory of Numa ſhine the brighter. For of the five, which were all that reigned after him, the laſt was depoſed, and ended his old age in baniſhment: of the other four, none died a natural death, but three of them were cut off by treaſon: and though Tullus Hoſtilius, who immediately ſucceeded Numa in the kingdom, derided moſt of his eminent virtues, but eſpecially his devotion to the gods, as if it were fit only to make men lazy and effeminate, and turned the minds of the people to war; yet he did not continue always in this youthful ſort of inſolence, but having his mind changed by a dangerous and ſtrange diſtemper, he fell into ſuch grievous ſuperſtition, as had not the leaſt reſemblance to the true piety and religion of Numa; and beſides he was the occaſion of ſtrengthening this ſuperſtitious paſſion in others by the manner of his death, he being deſtroyed by a thunder-bolt †.

The

* The religion of the Romans was certainly at this time very much changed from what it was in Numa's time, and ſo it was not thought ſafe to make ſuch a diſcovery.

† A flaſh of lightning ſet fire to his palace, and burnt it to aſhes; he,

The Compariſon of NUMA with LYCURGUS.

HAving thus finiſhed the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, we muſt now (though the work be difficult) collect the points of difference between the two thus expoſed to view; for as to the qualities common to both, ſuch as, for inſtance, their prudence and moderation, their piety, their political virtues, their ability to inſtruct others, their deriving the original of their laws and conſtitutions from the gods; theſe all appear ſufficiently from their actions. But as to the peculiar excellencies of each, the firſt thing obſervable is Numa's acceptance of a kingdom, and Lycurgus's reſignation of it; the one took it without being deſirous of it; the other gave it up when he had it in poſſeſſion. The one, from a private perſon and a ſtranger, was by others freely made their ſovereign; the other, from the ſtate of a prince, voluntarily made himſelf a private perſon. It was glorious in one to acquire a kingdom by his juſtice; and more glorious in the other to prefer juſtice before a kingdom. The virtue which raiſed the reputation of the one ſo high as to be thought worthy to wear a crown, made the other ſo great as to deſpiſe a crown.

The ſecond point of difference is this: As muſicians raiſe or ſink the tone of an inſtrument, in order to bring it to a juſt pitch; ſo Lycurgus, by the

he, his wife, his children, and all his family periſhing in the flames. There are however ſome authors who ſay that Ancus Marcius, taking his advantage of that ſtorm, aſſaſſinated the king, and ſet fire to his palace. But Dionyſius rejects that account. *What likelihood is there,* ſays he, *that Ancus Marcius ſhould commit ſo enormous a crime, when he could not be ſure to reap the fruits of it? What likelihood is there that the Romans would advance to the throne a perſon ſo deſperate, with his hands dipt in royal blood? And though the fact might poſſibly be concealed from the Romans, and they be deceived in their choice, would the gods have approved that choice by thoſe happy preſages which they gave in confirmation of it? Would they have accepted the ſacrifices of ſo execrable a murderer?*

ſeverity

ſeverity of his laws, may be ſaid to have braced, and given firmneſs to the relaxed and diſſolute manners of the Spartans; whereas the Roman lawgiver ſlackened and cooled the ſtubborn fiery temper of his people. The great difficulty was indeed on Lycurgus's ſide: for he did not go about to perſuade his citizens to put off their armour, and lay by their ſwords, but to diſmiſs their gold and ſilver, and to throw away their coſtly furniture and rich tables; not to ceaſe from war in order to keep feſtival days, and ſacrifice to the gods, but to leave off their feaſting and revelling, and to employ themſelves in laborious and martial exerciſes. Therefore Numa effected every thing by perſuaſion only, and by the love and reſpect which he acquired from his people; but Lycurgus, after running great danger, and expoſing his perſon to a grievous attack, could not without great difficulty compaſs his deſign. The muſe of Numa was more mild and good-natured; for he gently turned, and as it were ſoothed his people out of their untractable and fiery diſpoſition into the practice of peace and juſtice. And if that cruel and unjuſt order concerning the Helots is neceſſarily to be aſcribed to the politics of Lycurgus, we muſt own that Numa was by far the more kind and humane legiſlator, ſince he gave even ſuch as were confeſſedly ſlaves, a taſte of ſuch reſpect as belongs to freemen, by introducing the cuſtom for them to ſit at the table in company with their maſters in the time of the Saturnalia. For this they ſay was one of Numa's inſtitutions *, who thought it reaſonable to admit thoſe to a ſhare in the enjoyment of the annual fruits of the earth, who ſhared in the labour of cultivating them. But there are ſome who give a fabulous account of the origin of

* I do not remember to have read any where elſe that the Saturnalian feaſts were inſtituted by Numa. Some place the inſtitution under the reign of Tullus Hoſtilius, and others under that of the younger Tarquin.

this

this cuſtom, and ſay, that it is preſerved as a monument of that equality which ſubſiſted in the age Saturn, when there was no diſtinction of maſter and ſervant, but the condition of all was equal like that of relations and brothers.

It may however be ſaid in general, that both Numa and Lycurgus appear to have had the ſame deſign, which was to bring their people to a contented frugality and ſobriety of living; and as to the other virtues, the one ſeems to have had the greateſt regard for fortitude, the other for juſtice; unleſs they were really forced to take ſuch different methods, becauſe the nature and cuſtoms of the two political conſtitutions which they were ſeverally to model, were ſo exceedingly unlike. For it was not from cowardice that Numa diſcouraged war, but to prevent acts of injuſtice; nor did Lycurgus train up his people to arms, that they ſhould do injury to others, but that they ſhould not be expoſed to injuries themſelves. Thus, while each of them attempted to cut off what was exceſſive, and to ſupply what was defective in the ſtate of their people, they were under a neceſſity of making great alterations.

If we conſider the diſpoſition and diſtribution of the parts of their reſpective governments; that of Numa was exceeding popular, and fitted to pleaſe the commonalty; for out of goldſmiths, muſicians, ſhoemakers, and the reſt of the companies, he made one compounded populace of all the different profeſſions mixed together. But that of Lycurgus was more ſevere and ariſtocratical; for it allowed no trade or manual art to be exerciſed by any except ſlaves and foreigners, and confined ſuch as were citizens to the management of the ſpear and buckler, as being only artiſans of war, and ſervants of Mars, who neither underſtood, nor endeavoured to underſtand, any other art but how to obey their commanders and conquer their enemies: neither were freemen permitted to practiſe any of the ways of growing

growing rich; but that they might in every reſpect be free, the buſineſs of getting money was left to their ſlaves and the Helots, like other ſervile offices, ſuch as dreſſing their meat, and attending at their tables. But Numa made no ſuch diſtinction; he only took care to check the rapaciouſneſs of the ſoldiers, but prohibited no other methods of growing rich: he did not endeavour to reduce mens eſtates to an equality, but gave every one a liberty to amaſs wealth, and grow as rich as he was able: neither did he endeavour to provide againſt poverty, which increaſed daily in the city; whereas in the very beginning (while there was no great diſparity in mens eſtates, but all were pretty much upon a level) he ought vigorouſly to have reſtrained the inordinate deſire of wealth, as Lycurgus did, and ſo to have prevented the inconveniencies ariſing from thence, which were not inconſiderable, but ſuch as gave birth to thoſe many and grievous troubles which frequently happened in the Roman ſtate.

But as to an equal partition of lands, neither is Lycurgus to be blamed for making it, nor Numa for not making it *. For this equality was the very foundation of the Spartan commonwealth: but an allotment of lands having been ſo lately made at Rome, there could be no urgent neceſſity for making a new partition, nor for altering that firſt diſtribution of property, which, very probably, continued ſtill in the ſame ſtate as it was at firſt.

As to that community in reſpect to marriage and the propagation of children, which both of them with very good policy appointed to prevent jealouſy, they did not entirely take the ſame method. For

* Plutarch ſeems here to have forgotten what he had advanced in another place, *that Numa divided the land among the indigent part of the citizens*; to ſalve which contradiction it may be ſaid, that Plutarch regarded that diviſion only as a circumſtance that attended the diviſion which had been made before.

a Roman huſband having children enough, might part with his wife at the requeſt of another who wanted children, having full power both to divorce her, and to take her again if he pleaſed *. But the Lacedæmonian huſband allowed the free uſe of his wife to any other that deſired to have children by her, and yet ſtill kept her in his houſe, the marriage-obligation ſubſiſting as at firſt; nay, many huſbands, as we have ſaid, would often invite ſuch men to their houſes by whom they might hope to have healthy and well-made children. What then is the difference between theſe two cuſtoms? Only this, that in the Lacedæmonian way there is an abſolute unconcernedneſs about their conſorts, as to thoſe things which give moſt other men ſo much diſturbance, and fill them with ſuch jealouſy and diſquiet all their lives: in the Roman way there was a ſort of modeſt ſimplicity which leſſened the indelicacy of the practice by changing the marriage-contract, thereby ſhowing how uneaſy it was to endure any community in wedlock. The conſtitutions of Numa as to virgins were more ſtrict, and obliged them to maintain a becoming modeſty and reſerve; but the orders of Lycurgus were in that point more diſſolute, giving an indecent liberty to maids and ſingle women, which afforded matter of raillery to the poets, who (as particularly Ibycus †) gave them the epithet of *Phænomerides*, (*i. e.* ſuch as ſhow their thighs), and *Andromaneis*, (*i. e.* mad for the love of men): thus Euripides ſays,

Maids in promiſcuous crouds with youths are found,
Their legs uncover'd and their robes unbound.

For indeed the ſkirts of the habit which the maidens

* It was long after Numa's time before there was any inſtance of this liberty among the Romans, as may appear from what Plutarch himſelf ſays a little after, concerning the firſt divorce that happened in Rome.

† A Lyric poet who lived in the time of Crœſus.

wore

wore were not cloſed below, but flew open on both ſides, ſo that, as they walked, their thighs appeared bare. Sophocles has plainly deſcribed this in the following paſſage, where ſpeaking of Hermione, he ſays,

Still like a wanton girl attir'd ſhe goes;
Her ſhort looſe robes her naked thighs expoſe.

Upon this account it is ſaid, that the women were very bold, and ſhowed their courage more eſpecially in their behaviour to their huſbands; becauſe they not only bore an abſolute ſway at home, but alſo ſpoke in public, and gave their opinions freely in matters of the higheſt moment. But Numa, though he preſerved entire to the matrons all marks of honour and reſpect from their huſbands, which they had in the reign of Romulus, when they were uſed with ſuch great kindneſs to compenſate for their rape, yet at the ſame time he put them under a guard of great modeſty, and obliged them to forbear all meddling curioſity. He taught them ſobriety, and accuſtomed them to ſilence; for they were prohibited the uſe of wine entirely *, and not allowed the freedom of diſcourſe even in the moſt neceſſary matters, unleſs in the preſence of their huſbands. So that once (they ſay) when a woman

* Romulus ordained the ſame penalty for thoſe women who had drank wine as for thoſe who had been taken in adultery; for he ſaid, adultery opened the door to all other crimes, and that wine opened the door to adultery. Pliny writes, that a certain Roman called *Egnatius Mecenius* killed his wife for having drunk ſome wine, and that he was acquitted by Romulus. And Fabius Pictor in his annals relates a fact that is ſtill more extraordinary; he ſays, a certain woman having ſtolen the keys of the cellar, her relations ſtarved her to death for it. The ſeverity of this law was ſoftened in the ſucceeding ages; the women were not condemned to forfeit their lives on that occaſion, but their fortunes, of which Pliny gives us the following example. Cneius Domitius being judge in a cauſe of that nature between the huſband and his wife, declared, that it appeared to him, that the wife, unknown to the huſband, had drunk more wine than was conſiſtent with her health, and decreed that ſhe ſhould forfeit her dowery.

had the confidence to plead her own cauſe in a court of judicature, it ſeemed ſo ſtrange and monſtrous a thing, that the ſenate ſent to inquire of the oracle what ſuch a prodigy might portend to the commonwealth *. And one great argument to prove the complying temper and obliging meek behaviour of theſe Roman matrons, is the notice which is taken of ſuch as were deficient in theſe virtues. For as our Greek hiſtorians record in their annals the names of thoſe who firſt were the authors of civil war, or fought with their brothers, or murdered their fathers or mothers; ſo the Roman writers have recorded Spurius Carvilius as the firſt who divorced his wife, being a caſe that never before happened in the ſpace of 230 years from the foundation of the city †; and Thalæa, the wife of Pinarius, as the firſt that had any quarrel with her mother-in-law Gegania, in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. So excellently well framed for the preſervation of decency and modeſty, were the conſtitutions which this lawgiver made in relation to marriages.

Correſpondent to the manner of educating the virgins in other reſpects, was their method of beſtowing them in marriage. For Lycurgus was for marrying them when they were full grown and deſirous of marriage, that this converſation with men, when nature required it, might be a principle of kindneſs and love, rather than of hatred and fear

* What in thoſe days paſſed for a prodigy became afterwards very common. One Amaſia Senſia being accuſed of a capital crime, pleaded her own cauſe before the prætor, and was acquitted. Afrania, the wife of a ſenator, uſed to buſy herſelf ſo much in courts of judicature, that all meddling troubleſome women went by her name. The triumvirs having fined the women in a great ſum of money, Hortenſia, the daughter of Hortenſius the orator, pleaded their cauſe with ſo much eloquence and ſucceſs, that ſhe got a conſiderable part of it to be remitted.

† Plutarch ſays the ſame in the compariſon of Romulus and Theſeus; but the number is miſtaken there as well as here, for it ſhould be 520.

towards

towards thoſe who forced them againſt the inclinations of nature; and that their bodies might have ſufficient ſtrength to undergo the trouble of breeding, and pains of childbirth; for he eſteemed the propagation of children to be the only end of marriage. But the Romans married their daughters at twelve years of age, or under, as ſuppoſing that by this means not only their perſons, but their humours and diſpoſitions, would come pure and untainted into the management of the huſband. Now, it is plain, that the firſt method is more agreeable to the deſires of nature, which only reſpects the procreation of children; but the other is better adapted for moral purpoſes, and to make the conjugal life comfortable. However, it muſt be owned, that Lycurgus, by the care which he took for inſpecting the education of children, for collecting them in companies, for their public diſcipline and common aſſemblies, and their regular and orderly management at their public ſuppers, exerciſes, and paſtimes, gave ſuch a plain inſtance of his ſuperior ſkill, as ſhows, that, compared to him, Numa was no better than one in the ordinary rank of legiſlators. For Numa left the education of the youth entirely to the parents, to be managed according to their own pleaſure, or as their intereſt required; ſo that any one was at liberty, if he pleaſed, to make his ſon a huſbandman, or to teach him the trade of a carpenter, or a braſier, or a muſician; as if it had been of no importance that children ſhould be trained at firſt to one and the ſame end; but as if they were all like paſſengers in a ſhip, where every one comes upon a diſtinct intereſt and deſign of his own, and only in time of danger, from their private fears, were to unite for the public ſafety, but at all other times to conſider nothing but their own particular concerns.

It is not indeed reaſonable that we ſhould blame the generality of legiſlators, who happen to be deficient

cient in this point, either for want of ſkill or power. But when ſo wiſe a man as Numa undertook the government of a people which had been ſo lately collected into one body, and which made not the leaſt oppoſition to any thing that he propoſed, what could more properly employ his firſt and principal care than the education of children and the diſcipline of youth, that ſo they might not grow up to be men of diſagreeing and turbulent tempers, but being immediately from the very cradle formed to one common rule of public virtue, might mutually agree to proſecute the ſame good end? The care which Lycurgus took in this matter, (beſides its ſerving many other good purpoſes), was of exceeding great advantage towards preſerving his laws inviolate. For the obligation of the oaths which he made the people take to preſerve the conſtitution would have ſignified but little, if he had not by diſcipline and education infuſed, as it were, his laws into the manners of the children, and made them ſuck in a zeal for his political inſtitutions with their very milk. So that for above 500 years together the fundamental and principal points of his legal eſtabliſhment continued unaltered, like a deep and ſtrong tincture which could not eaſily be effaced. But when Numa expired, the great end and aim of his government, which was that Rome ſhould continue in peace and tranquillity, immediately vaniſhed with him. For no ſooner was he dead, but the temple of Janus, which he had conſtantly kept ſhut, (as if he had indeed kept war itſelf tamed and cloſe pent up in it), was preſently thrown wide open, and all Italy was filled with blood and ſlaughter. And thus this excellent and juſt conſtitution was of no continuance, becauſe it wanted that cement which ſhould have kept all firm together; I mean the good education of youth.

What then? will ſome ſay. Hath not Rome advanced itſelf to a *better condition* by the practice of war?

war? A queſtion this which requires a long anſwer, if we are to ſatisfy ſuch men as ſuppoſe this *better condition* to conſiſt in riches, and luxury, and dominion over others, rather than in ſecurity, moderation of mind, and a contented enjoyment of our own, with juſtice to others. However even this will afford an argument in favour of Lycurgus, that the Romans advanced their ſtate to ſo high a pitch after they had changed the conſtitution from what it was in Numa's days; but the Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, as ſoon as ever they departed from the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, from being a very great ſtate, became a moſt deſpicable people; and after loſing the command of the reſt of Greece, were in danger of being themſelves entirely deſtroyed.

But after all it muſt be allowed, that thus much of Numa was truly great and godike, that, though an alien, he was thought worthy to be courted to come and take the crown; that he altered the whole frame of the government by mere perſuaſion; and that he kept the abſolute rule over a city conſiſting of two parties not yet well compacted; which he did without the uſe of arms, or any ſort of force, (ſuch as Lycurgus uſed when he headed the nobility againſt the commons); but by mere dint of wiſdom and juſtice brought every one to concur entirely with him, and ſettled a perfect harmony among them.

THE LIFE OF SOLON.

Didymus * the grammarian, in his anſwer to Aſclepiades † concerning Solon's laws, mentions a paſſage of one Philocles, wherein he aſſerts that Solon's father's name was *Euphorion*, contrary to the opinion of all others who have made any mention of Solon: for they univerſally agree that he was the ſon of Execeſtides, a man of moderate wealth and power, but of the nobleſt family in Athens, being deſcended from Codrus. His mother, as Heraclides Ponticus affirms, was couſin to Piſiſtratus's mother: and there was at firſt a great friendſhip between Solon and Piſiſtratus, which was owing partly to this relation, and partly to the excellent qualities and beauty of Piſiſtratus ‡, which, as ſome ſay, made Solon much

* He was a native of Alexandria, and a diſciple of Ariſtarchus. He lived in the time of Auguſtus, and is ſaid to have written 4000 volumes.

† There were ſeveral authors of this name; but Plutarch probably means Aſclepiades the grammarian who lived not long before Didymus.

‡ If ever the excellent qualities of a tyrant could change a tyranny into a legal monarchy, thoſe of Piſiſtratus might have wrought that miracle: for he was of all men by nature the moſt inclined to virtue, the moſt humane, and willing to relieve the neceſſities of the diſtreſſed, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Hiſtory affords us many inſtances of his clemency. And as for his parts, learning, and eloquence, we need only conſult the panegyrics of the ancients. It is to his care we are indebted for Homer's poems in the condition they are at preſent. He was

much in love with him. And for this reaſon, I ſuppoſe, when afterwards they differed about the government, their enmity never produced any harſh and violent paſſion; but they ſtill preſerved ſome remains of their former affection and friendſhip,

Like glowing embers of once ſcorching fire.

For that Solon was not proof againſt beauty, nor had courage enough,

Like a brave champion grappling with his foe,

to reſiſt the force of love, we may conjecture by his poems, and by a law which he made forbidding ſlaves to anoint * themſelves, or love boys; making that an honourable action, and only fit for gentlemen, and as it were inviting the worthy to the practice of that which he commanded the unworthy to forbear. Piſiſtratus likewiſe is reported to have loved one Charmus, and to have conſecrated a ſtatue of love in the academy, where thoſe light their torches † who run in the ſacred torch-race. Solon, as Hermippus writes, when his father had

was the firſt that founded a library in Athens, and gave it for the uſe of the public.

* The meaning is, that he forbade them to uſe thoſe gymnaſtic exerciſes which were uſed by free men; for before engaging in theſe exerciſes the body was always rubbed with oil.

† Three times a-year there was a race in Athens, called the *torch-race*: the firſt was during the Panathenæa in honour of Minerva; the ſecond during the feaſt of Vulcan, in honour of that god; and the other in honour of Prometheus, during the celebration of his feſtival. The firſt of theſe was performed at the haven of Piræus, and the other two in the Ceramicus, that is, the park of the academy. The youth one after another, ran a certain courſe as faſt as they could, with lighted torches in their hands. He whoſe torch happened to go out whilſt he was running, delivered it to him that was to follow, and ſo of the reſt; and he only was declared conqueror who performed his courſe with his flambeau unextinguiſhed. In the race at the Panathenæa, the lighted torch was thrown from the top of a tower; and in the others, he that was to run went and lighted his torch at Prometheus's altar, near the ſtatue of love which had been conſecrated by Piſiſtratus. At the entry into the academy there was likewiſe an altar of love which had been erected by the ſame Charmus with whom Piſiſtratus was enamoured.

ruined

ruined his eſtate by his liberality, though he had friends enough who were willing to contribute to his relief, yet was aſhamed to be beholden to others, ſince he was deſcended from a family who were accuſtomed to beſtow kindneſſes rather than receive them. He therefore applied himſelf to merchandiſe in his younger years; though others aſſure us that Solon travelled rather to get learning and experience than to raiſe an eſtate. It is certain that he was a lover of wiſdom; for when he was old he would ſay,

Though aged grown, yet much I daily learn.

But he did not very highly eſteem riches, thinking equally wealthy,

Him who has heaps of gold, and ſteeds, and fields,
And him whoſe toil plain food and raiment yields.
If to plain food and raiment fate ſhould join
What love deſires, his joy is half divine.

And in another place he ſays,

I would be rich, if not unjuſt my gain;
A curſe attends what guilt and fraud obtain.

It is very poſſible that a virtuous man and a good ſtateſman may neither be too ſolicitous in procuring ſuperfluities, nor quite unconcerned about what is neceſſary and convenient. In thoſe days, according to Heſiod, it was no ſhame for a man to work, nor did a trade make any difference of quality; but merchandiſe was eſteemed a very honourable profeſſion, as it brought home the uſeful products of barbarous countries, occaſioned friendly connections between different nations, furniſhed freſh objects of knowledge, and gave riſe to many ingenious arts. Some merchants have built great cities, as Protus the founder of Maſſilia, that man ſo much eſteemed by the Gauls that live about the Rhone. Some alſo report, that Thales and Hippocrates the

mathematician

mathematician traded, and that Plato defrayed the charges of his travels by ſelling oil in Egypt *. Some ſuppoſe that Solon's luxury and profuſeneſs, and the licentious turn of his poems, which are indeed too looſe for a philoſopher, were occaſioned by his trading life; for as that expoſed him to many dangers, it was fit they ſhould be recompenſed with ſome pleaſures and enjoyments. But that he accounted himſelf rather poor than rich, is evident from theſe lines:

Yes, wealth may court the bad, the good may fly;
Yet with my virtue gold I'd never buy.
Virtue ſhall laſt though nature's ſelf decay;
But gold, though bright, is tranſient as the day.

He ſeems at firſt to have uſed his poetry not for any ſerious purpoſe, but by way of diverſion in his hours of leiſure. But afterwards he inſerted ſentences of moral philoſophy, and intermixed many things relating to public affairs, not with a deſign to record events as an hiſtorian, but to apologize for his own conduct, or to adviſe, reprove, or animate the Athenians. Some report, that he deſigned to put his laws into a poem, and they quote this as the beginning of it:

Firſt riſe our prayers, that fav'ring Jove would bleſs
Our new-made laws with honour and ſucceſs.

Of all the parts of moral philoſophy †, like moſt of the wiſe men of that time, he chiefly eſteemed politics; in phyſics he was very rude and illiterate, as appears by this paſſage:

* It was uſual to trade into Egypt with the oil of Greece and Judea. It is ſaid in the prophet Hoſea, *that Ephraim carried oil into Egypt*, chap. xii. 1.

† Moral philoſophy among the ancients was not confined to what is more ſtrictly called *ethics*, which teaches the nature of virtue and the government of the paſſions; it likewiſe conſidered the rights of men in a ſtate of natural liberty, the laws and rights of the ſeveral members of a family, and the laws and rights of civil ſocieties.

From

From wintry clouds our ſnows and hail proceed,
And lucid lightnings the loud thunder breed.
Tempeſtuous winds deform the ſurging deep;
But nought ſo peaceful when the tempeſts ſleep *.

And indeed it is probable, that at that time it was only Thales's wiſdom which had gone any further in ſpeculation than was of abſolute uſe in practice; and the other ſix were called *wiſe men* from their great ſkill in political affairs. It is reported, that they had an interview at Delphi, and another at Corinth, which was procured by Periander, who made proviſion for their entertainment. But their reputation was chiefly raiſed by their modeſty and civility in ſucceſſively refuſing the tripod, which by this means went round through the whole number. The ſtory is this. When ſome Coans once were drawing a net, and ſome ſtrangers from Miletus had bought the draught at a venture, there chanced to come up a golden tripod, which, they ſay, Helen, at her return from Troy, upon the remembrance of an old prophecy, threw in there. The ſtrangers at firſt conteſting with the fiſhers about the tripod, and the cities eſpouſing the quarrel ſo far as to engage themſelves in a war, both parties were adviſed by the oracle to preſent it to the wiſeſt man. And firſt it was ſent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans freely preſenting this one man with that, for which they fought all the Mileſians together. But Thales declaring Bias a wiſer perſon than himſelf, it was ſent to him; from him to another, as yet wiſer; and ſo going round them all, it came to Thales a ſecond time; at laſt, being carried from Miletus to Thebes, it was there dedicated to Apollo Iſmenius. Theophraſtus writes, that it was firſt preſented to Bias at Priene, and next to Thales at

* The reaſon of this cenſure does not appear evident; it is unreaſonable to expect the ſame fulneſs and preciſion in a poem, which is required in a regular treatiſe of philoſophy.

Miletus,

Miletus, and ſo through all it returned to Bias, and was at laſt ſent to Delphi. This is the general report; only ſome, inſtead of a tripod, ſay this preſent was a bowl ſent by Crœſus; others, a cup which one Bathycles had left. There are ſome who give an account of a particular converſation which Solon had with Anacharſis *, and of another which he had with Thales. The former is related thus. Anacharſis coming to Athens, knocked at Solon's door, and told him, *That being a ſtranger he was come to be his gueſt, and contract a friendſhip with him:* and Solon replying, *It is better to make friends at home*; Anacharſis anſwered, *Then you that are at home make me your friend, and take me for your gueſt.* Solon ſurpriſed at this ingenious ſubtilty of the man, received him kindly, and kept him ſome time with him, whilſt he was managing the commonwealth, and contriving his laws. When Anacharſis underſtood how Solon was employed, he laughed at his undertaking, and at the abſurdity of imagining he could reſtrain the injuſtice and covetouſneſs of his citizens by written laws, *which were no better than ſpiders webs, and would, like them, hold only the weak and poor when they were caught, but would be eaſily broken through by the rich and powerful.* To this Solon replied, *That men keep their agreements when neither ſide can get any thing by the breaking of them; and he would ſo accommodate his laws to the citizens, that all ſhould ſee that it was more for their intereſt to obſerve them than to violate them.* But the event proved rather as Anacharſis gueſſed, than as Solon hoped it would. Anacharſis, being once preſent at an aſſembly of the people in Athens, ſaid, *he wondered much that in*

* The Scythians, long before the days of Solon, had been renowned for their ſimplicity, their frugality, their temperance and juſtice. Homer calls them *the moſt upright nation.* Anacharſis was one of theſe Scythians, and of the royal family. He went to Athens about the forty-ſeventh Olympiad, that is, 590 years before the birth of Chriſt. His good ſenſe, profound learning, and great experience made him paſs for one of the ſeven wiſe men.

Greece

Greece the wiſe ſhould plead cauſes, and fools determine them.

When Solon came to Thales at Miletus, he wondered that Thales took no care to get a wife and children. To this Thales made no anſwer for the preſent; but a few days after he perſuaded a ſtranger to pretend that he came from Athens ten days before; and Solon inquiring *what news there was*, the man, according to his inſtructions, replied, *None, except the death of a young man whoſe funeral was attended by the whole city; for he was*, they ſaid, *the ſon of a perſon of great honour, and of the higheſt reputation for virtue of all the citizens, and who was not then at home, but had been abroad upon his travels a long time.* Solon replied, *What a miſerable man is he! but what was his name? I have heard it*, ſays the man, *but have now forgotten it. I only remember they ſpoke much of his wiſdom and juſtice.* Thus Solon's fears were heightened by every anſwer, till at laſt in great agitation he mentioned his own name, and aſked the ſtranger *if that young man was not Solon's ſon?* the ſtranger aſſenting, he began to beat his head, and to do and ſay ſuch things as are uſual to men in a tranſport of grief. Then Thales taking his hand, ſaid with a ſmile, *Theſe are the things, Solon, which keep me from marriage and getting children, ſince they are able to ſhake the courage even of ſo firm a man as you: however, be not concerned at this report, for it is all a fiction.* This Hermippus relates from Patæcus, who pretended that he had Æſop's ſoul. But for all this, that man acts a very abſurd and mean part, who neglects to procure the accommodations of life from the fear of loſing them; for, upon the ſame account, we ſhould deſire neither wealth, nor glory, nor wiſdom, ſince we may be deprived of all theſe: nay even virtue itſelf, than which there is no greater, nor more deſirable poſſeſſion, is often loſt by ſickneſs or inchantments. Thales himſelf, though unmarried, could not be

free

free from ſolicitude more than others, unleſs he likewiſe took care to avoid having either friends, or relations, or country: but even he had an adopted child, one Cybiſthus, who was, as they ſay, his ſiſter's ſon. For the ſoul having a principle of kindneſs in itſelf, and being naturally made to love, as well as to perceive, think, or remember, ſomething foreign always comes in and engages this principle of affection, in ſuch as have nothing at home to employ it upon; ſtrangers or baſtards inſinuating themſelves into ſuch a man's affections, as into an houſe or land that wants a lawful heir; and his love when once raiſed, muſt be attended with a concern for them, and fear of loſing them. So that ſome men who are earneſt diſputers againſt marriage and having of children, when a child which they have had by a ſlave or ſtrumpet, is ſick, or dies, will be moſt deeply afflicted, and break out into the moſt abject lamentations. Nay ſome for the death of dogs or horſes have abandoned themſelves to the moſt ſhameful and deſperate grief. And yet others, upon the death of virtuous children, have not been affected with an extravagant or unmanly ſorrow, but have paſſed the reſt of their lives with calmneſs and compoſure. For it is not benevolence, but weakneſs, that brings thoſe endleſs griefs and fears upon ſuch men as are not armed by reaſon againſt the ſtrokes of fortune, and who have not even the preſent enjoyment of what they dote ſo much upon, while the fear of loſing it gives them ſuch pain, vexation, and torment. Therefore we muſt not provide againſt the loſs of wealth, by poverty; or the loſs of friends, by refuſing all acquaintance; or the death of children, by getting none; but by reaſon and reflection prepare our minds for every accident. But of this too much at preſent.

When the Athenians were tired with a tedious and unſucceſsful war, which they carried on againſt the Megarenſians for the iſland of Salamin, and

made a law that it ſhould be death for any man, by writing or ſpeaking, to aſſert that the city ought to endeavour to recover it; Solon, vexed at the diſgrace, and perceiving thouſands of the youth wiſhed to begin the war again, but did not dare to propoſe it for fear of the law, counterfeited a diſtraction; and by his own family it was given out in the city that he was mad: but he ſecretly compoſed an elegy, and getting it by heart, ran out into the market-place with a cap upon his head *; and whilſt the people gathered about him, got upon the ſtone where the public crier uſed to ſtand, and ſang that elegy which begins thus:

From fertile Salamin I took my way,
An herald ſent with this melodious lay.

That poem is called *Salamin*; it contains a hundred verſes very elegantly written. When he had done ſinging, his friends began to commend it, eſpecially Piſiſtratus, who exhorted the citizens to obey his directions; they accordingly repealed the law, and renewed the war under Solon's conduct. The common report is, that with Piſiſtratus he ſailed to Colias; and finding the women, according to the cuſtom of the country there, ſacrificing to Ceres, he ſent a truſty friend to Salamin, who pretending to be a deſerter, ſhould adviſe the Megarenſians, if they deſired to

* That is, he went out in all appearance as if he had been ſick, for none but ſuch wore caps at Athens; and *to wear a cap* was one of their preſcriptions in phyſic, as we find in Plato. Thus Juſtin ſpeaking of this action of Solon, ſays, *Deformis habitu more vecordium in publicum evolat.* Solon had not that hardineſs and courage that Demoſthenes exerted a long time after on the like occaſion. The Athenians after the death of Epaminondas, which removed out of their way an enemy that kept them always upon their guard, waſted in ſhows and plays the money that had been aſſigned for the pay of the army, and the neceſſary occaſions of the public, and at the ſame time paſſed a law which made it capital for any one ſo much as to mention a reformation. Demoſthenes had not recourſe on that occaſion to a feigned frenzy, or indiſpoſition, but ſpoke to the people with that liberty and courage which became an honeſt man, who had the welfare of his country at heart.

ſeize

ſeize the chief Athenian women, to ſail immediately with him to Colias. The Megarenſians taking the ſtory for truth, preſently manned a ſhip; and Solon deſcrying this ſhip juſt as it put off from the iſland, ſent away the women, and ordered ſome beardleſs youths, dreſſed in thoſe womens cloaths, ſhoes, and caps, and privately armed with daggers, to dance near the ſhore, till the enemies had landed, and the ſhip was in their power. Things being thus ordered, the Megarenſians were allured with the appearance, and, coming near the ſhore, ſtrove who ſhould leap out firſt, as it were only to ſeize the women; but they were ſo warmly received, that not one of them eſcaped; and the Athenians preſently ſet ſail for the iſland, and took it. Others ſay that it was not taken in this manner; but that Apollo, at Delphi, firſt delivered this oracle to Solon:

Go let your incenſe to thoſe heroes riſe
Who rul'd your ſtate the mighty and the wiſe;
Turn'd to the weſt each ſacred corſe remains,
And reſts for ever in Aſopia's plains.

Upon this Solon ſailing by night to the iſland, ſacrificed to the heroes Periphemus and Cychris *; and then taking 500 Athenian volunteers, who had a law paſſed in their favour, that if they took the iſland, they ſhould have the government of it, and ſetting ſail with a good number of fiſhing-veſſels, together with a galley of thirty oars, he anchored in a bay of Salamin that looks towards Eubœa. The Megarenſians who were then in the iſland being alarmed by an uncertain report, in great diſorder betook themſelves to their arms, and ſent a

* Periphemus is a perſon unknown. Cychris was king of Salamin, where he had a temple. Pauſanias relates, that the Athenians, in an engagement at ſea with Xerxes, beheld a prodigious ſerpent upon one of their ſhips, and were told by the oracle, which they conſulted on that occaſion, that it was the hero Cychris.

perſuaſion, the Amphictyons * undertook the war, as, among others, Ariſtotle affirms in his treatiſe of the victors at the Pythian games, where he makes Solon the author of this counſel. Solon was not general in that expedition, as Hermippus tells us from Evanthes the Samian: for Æſchines the orator ſays no ſuch thing; and in the regiſters of Delphi, Alcmæon, not Solon, is recorded as general of the Athenians.

The guilt of that execrable proceeding againſt the accomplices of Cylon †, had long given great diſturbance to the commonwealth, from the time when

to the bay, and ſo would be waſhed by the waves of the ſea. This being performed, the town was taken, and the inhabitants puniſhed for their impiety. From that time Cirrha became the arſenal of Delphi.

* They were what we may call the ſtates-general of Greece; for the twelve nations that dwelt round Delphi, ſent each their deputies to aſſiſt in this grand council, which was held twice in the year at Thermopylæ, where they had under their deliberation every thing that concerned the tranquillity of Greece, but more eſpecially ſuch things as were of a religious nature. They were the protectors of the temple of Delphi.

† Cylon was an Athenian of a very ancient and noble family, and having married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, ſeized on the citadel of Athens whilſt they were celebrating the Olympic games: this he did in obedience to an oracle of Apollo, who had directed him to undertake it during the celebration of the greateſt feaſt that was inſtituted in honour of Jupiter. He thought Jupiter had no greater feaſt dedicated to him than the games before mentioned, without conſidering, that the Athenians obſerved a very ſolemn feaſt called *Diaſia*, which they celebrated in honour of Jupiter, and which poſſibly might be the feaſt meant by the oracle. However it was this ambiguity ſerved to juſtify the oracle. Cylon was cloſely beſieged in the citadel, and ſo reduced through hunger and thirſt, that he was forced to retire with his brother, leaving his ſoldiers to ſhift for themſelves. Some of them periſhed miſerably; and the reſt flying for refuge into the temple of Minerva, were uſed as is here related by Plutarch. The gods incenſed at this ſacrilegious outrage, poured down their vengeance upon the heads of the Athenians, who, by way of atonement, execrated and excommunicated in a public manner both the authors of it, and their deſcendents, and drove their families into exile; and this was the ſource of many diſorders for a long time after. This enterpriſe of Cylon happened even in Solon's time, about the forty-fifth Olympiad, 598 years before the birth of Chriſt; for it is certain that Megacles was Archon the firſt year of that Olympiad.

Megacles,

Megacles, who was then Archon, perſuaded theſe conſpirators, who had taken ſanctuary in Minerva's temple, to come down and ſtand a trial; but when they had tied a thread to the image of the goddeſs, and kept hold of one end of it, in token of their being ſtill under ſanctuary, juſt as they came down by the temple of the Furies, the thread happening to break of itſelf, Megacles and his colleagues ruſhed upon and ſeized them, as if the goddeſs had now refuſed them her protection. As many as were without the temple, were ſtoned; thoſe who fled to the altars for ſanctuary, were murdered there; and only thoſe eſcaped who made their application to the wives of the magiſtrates. But from that time theſe magiſtrates were called *Execrable*, and held in great deteſtation. Such of the Cylonian faction as happened to outlive this blow, afterwards recovered ſtrength, and had continual quarrels with the relations and deſcendents of Megacles. The contention being at this time come to its height, and the people divided, Solon, who was now in great reputation, taking to his aſſiſtance the beſt men of Athens, interpoſed, and partly by entreaty, and partly by authority, perſuaded the execrable perſons, as they were then called, to ſubmit to a trial, and be judged by 300 perſons choſen from among the chief men of the city. One Myron, of the Phlyenſian ward, managed the charge againſt them. They were all condemned, and as many as were then alive were baniſhed, and the carcaſes of the dead were dug up, and ſcattered beyond the confines of the country. In the midſt of theſe diſtractions, the Megarenſians falling upon them, the Athenians loſt both Niſæa, and Salamin. Beſides, the city was diſturbed with ſuperſtitious fears and ſtrange appearances; and the prieſts declared, that the ſacrifices intimated ſome execrable crimes and pollutions that were to be expiated. Upon this they ſent for Epimenides the Phæſtian, from Crete, who

is

is counted the ſeventh wiſe man, by thoſe who will not admit Periander into the number. He was reputed a man of great piety, beloved by the gods, and one that had great ſkill in matters of religion, as to what concerned inſpirations and the myſteries of initiation; and therefore the men of that age called him the ſon of the nymph *Balte* *, and the new *Cures*, or prieſt of *Cybele*. When he came to Athens, and grew intimately acquainted with Solon, he aſſiſted him privately in many inſtances, and made way for the better reception of his laws: for he taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worſhip, and more moderate in their mourning, by ordering ſome ſacrifices to be joined with their funeral ſolemnities, and aboliſhing thoſe ſevere and barbarous ceremonies which moſt of the women had formerly practiſed. But the greateſt thing of all was his cleanſing and purifying the city, by certain propitiatory and expiatory luſtrations †, and building of chapels; by which means he rendered the people more obedient, more juſt, and more peaceable. It is reported, that looking upon Munychia ‡, and conſidering a while, he ſaid to

* It is not known who this nymph Balte was. Diogenes Laertius writes, that Epimenides was ſo beloved by the nymphs, that they gave him a certain drug, which he kept in bullock's horns, a ſingle drop of which preſerved him a long time healthy and vigorous, without any other ſort of nouriſhment.

† In theſe propitiatory ſacrifices of Epimenides one may find ſome footſteps of the expiation of the Hebrews, as it is deſcribed in the ſixteenth chapter of Leviticus. For it is ſaid that he choſe ſome ſheep that were all white, and others all black, which he led into the Areopagus, and letting them looſe from thence, he commanded thoſe that were to follow them, where-ever they found them couch, to ſacrifice them upon the ſpot, to the local Deity; which was done accordingly, and in every place where a y of them had been ſacrificed, an altar was erected; from whence it came to paſs that many altars were found in the ſeveral burghs of Attica without any name inſcribed, which were ſo many authentic monuments of that ceremony. He likewiſe cauſed many temples and chapels to be erected, and among others, *Contumeliæ fanum, et Impudentiæ*.

‡ A port and citadel belonging to Athens, which gave them great trouble, when in the hands of their enemies,

thoſe

thoſe that ſtood by, *How blind is man to futurity! For did the Athenians foreſee what miſchief this will do to their city, they would even eat it with their own teeth, to get rid of it* *. It is ſaid that Thales made a like conjecture; for he commanded his friends to bury him in an obſcure and neglected quarter of Mileſia, ſaying, that that very ſpot in time would be the forum of the Mileſians. Epimenides being much admired, and preſented by the city with rich gifts, and conſiderable honours, requeſted and accepted only a branch of the ſacred olive; and then returned home.

The Athenians, now the Cylonian ſedition was quelled, and the authors of it baniſhed, as above related, fell immediately into their old quarrels about the government, there being as many different parties as there were different ſituations of country within the bounds of the commonwealth; for thoſe upon the hills were moſt for democracy, thoſe in the flat country for oligarchy; and thoſe that lived towards the ſea, preferred a mixed ſort of government, and ſo hindered either of the other parties from prevailing. At the ſame time alſo the diſcord ariſing from inequality of eſtates between the poor and the rich being come to a great height, the city was in a moſt deſperate condition, and a monarchical government ſeemed the only thing that could ſettle it, and free it from theſe diſturbances. For all the poor were indebted to the rich; and either they paid them the ſixth part of the produce of their lands, and were therefore called † *Hectemorii* and *Thetes*; or elſe they engaged their bodies ‡ for the debt,

* This prediction was verified in the 114th Olympiad, that is, near 270 years after it was erected, at which time Antipater conſtrained the Athenians to receive a garriſon into the place.

† *i. e. Sixth part men*, and *vaſſals*.

‡ This cuſtom was in uſe among the Romans for a long time; for, by one of the laws of the twelve tables, the inſolvent debtor's perſon was forfeited to his creditors, who either detained him in priſon, or ſold

debt, and might be ſeized by their creditors: ſo that ſome of them were made ſlaves at home, others ſold to ſtrangers; ſome, for no law forbade it, were forced to ſell their children, or leave their country to avoid the cruelty of their creditors. But the greateſt number and the moſt reſolute of the people roſe, and encouraged one another not to ſuffer this oppreſſion any longer, but to chuſe ſome one man in whom they could confide as a leader, to ſet free thoſe who had been ſeized for failing in the time of payment, to make a new diviſion of lands, and entirely to change the government. Then the wiſeſt of the Athenians conſidering Solon as the only perſon who had kept himſelf free from blame, that he neither had any ſhare in theſe unjuſt exactions of the rich, nor was involved in the diſtreſſes of the poor, preſſed him to aſſiſt the commonwealth, and compoſe theſe differences. Phanias the * Leſbian affirms, that Solon, to ſave his country, put a trick upon both parties, and privately promiſed the poor a diviſion of the lands, and the rich ſecurity for their debts. But he ſays that Solon was unwilling to engage in the affair at firſt, being afraid of the avarice of one party, and the arrogance of the other. He was however choſen Archon after Philombrotus, and impowered to be an arbitrator, and ſettle laws; the rich readily conſenting becauſe he was wealthy, the poor becauſe he was honeſt. It is reported, that a ſaying of his which went currently about beforehand, that *equality never breeds war*, mightily pleaſed both parties,

ſold him, as they thought fit. Nay the law went further; it allowed them to tear him in pieces, and divide his fleſh among them. But no one was ever known to make uſe of a right ſo barbarous and contrary to humanity.

* He was of Ereſſa, a city of Leſbos, contemporary with Theophraſtus, and Ariſtotle's diſciple. He is quoted as the author of ſeveral writings; as, a treatiſe on plants; on the death of tyrants; on the tyrants of the age; on the magiſtrates of Ereſſa; on the Socratic philoſophers; on the diſſertations of Poſidonius.

the

the wealthy and the poor; the one expecting this equality in dignity and power, the other in their number. Thus there being great hopes on both ſides, the chief men were very urgent with Solon, offering him the abſolute power, and endeavouring to perſuade him that he might, when he was once ſettled, manage the buſineſs according to his pleaſure: and many of the citizens who were indifferent between both parties, perceiving it would be a change difficult to be effected by law and reaſon, were not againſt having one wiſe and juſt man ſet at the head of affairs. And ſome ſay that Solon had this oracle from Apollo:

Seize, ſeize the helm; the bark as pilot ſteer;
And pow'rful aid ſhall baniſh ev'ry fear.

But his acquaintance eſpecially accuſed him of meanneſs, for ſcrupling to take the monarchy only for its name; as if tyranny would not by degrees become a legal ſovereignty by the virtue of the poſſeſſor, as it had formerly done among the Eubœans who choſe Tynondas; and did at preſent amongſt the Mitylenians, who choſe Pittacus * for their prince. Yet nothing of all this could ſhake Solon's reſolution; but, as they ſay, he replied to his friends, *It is true, tyranny is a very fair ſpot, but it hath no outlet.* And in a copy of verſes to Phocus he writes:

That all the fair domains I rul'd, I bleſs'd,
Nor robb'd the wealthy, nor the poor oppreſs'd;
I boaſt the blameleſs honour of my name;
And ſcorn the tyrant's ſanguinary fame.

* Pittacus, one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, made himſelf maſter of Mitylene; for which reaſon Alcæus, who was of the ſame town, and contemporary with Pittacus, wrote againſt him, and laſhed him in his verſes, as he did the other tyrants. Pittacus read his ſatires with contempt, and after having by his authority compoſed the diſorders, and quelled the ſeditions of his citizens, and eſtabliſhed peace and harmony among them, he voluntarily quitted his power, and reſtored his country to its liberty.

From

From which it is manifeſt that he was a man of great reputation before he gave his laws. As to the ridicule he was expoſed to for refuſing arbitrary power, he deſcribes it in theſe words:

Nor ſenſe nor ſpirit, Solon, ſure, poſſeſs'd,
By offer'd bleſſings, who would not be bleſs'd.
The fiſh were caught; with anguiſh envy ſaw
The net ſurround them, which he would not draw.
Ye gods, to make ſuch wealth a certain prey,
To reign the lord of Athens but a day,
Who but the morrow would with pride defy,
Though doom'd himſelf, and all his race to die?

Thus he repreſents the cenſures paſſed upon him by the multitude, and by men of low minds. Yet though he refuſed an arbitrary power, he was not remiſs in the management of public affairs: he did not appear mean and crouching to the powerful; nor made his laws to pleaſure thoſe that choſe him. In what was tolerably conſtituted before he made no alteration, fearing leſt if he ſhould quite unſettle the commonwealth, he ſhould not have power ſufficient to frame and model it anew in the moſt perfect manner. But what he thought he could effect by perſuaſion upon the pliable, and by force upon the ſtubborn, that he did, as himſelf ſays,

By making force and juſtice both conſpire.

And therefore being afterwards aſked, *if he had left the Athenians the beſt laws that could be given?* he replied, *I have eſtabliſhed the beſt they could receive.* The way in which modern authors ſay the Athenians uſed to take off from the harſhneſs of things, by giving them polite and honourable names, calling, for inſtance, a whore, *a friend*, taxes, *contributions*, garriſons, *guards*, priſons, *houſes*, ſeems at firſt to have been Solon's contrivance, who named the taking off the people's debts a *diſcharge*. For the firſt thing he ſettled in the commonwealth was, that the debts

debts in being ſhould be forgiven, and no man for the future ſhould engage the body of his debtor for ſecurity. Though ſome, and among the reſt Androtion, affirm, that the poor people were eaſed, not by cancelling the debts, but by lowering the intereſt; which pleaſed them ſo, that they gave the name of *diſcharge* to this kindneſs, and to that which accompanied it, the enlarging their meaſures, and raiſing the value of their money: for he made a mina, which before went for but ſeventy-three * drachmas, to go for a hundred; ſo that paying as much in tale as before, but leſs in weight, thoſe that paid off a debt had great advantage, and thoſe that received it had no loſs †. But moſt authors ſay that this *diſcharging* was an entire clearing of all debts at once; and with this account what he ſays in his poems beſt agrees: for in them Solon values himſelf, *that he had removed all marks* ‡ *of mortgaged land, fixed up almoſt in every place before, ſo that what was bound before, was now free; and of ſuch citizens as had been ſeized by their creditors for debt, ſome he had brought back from other countries, where by the length of their exile they had forgotten their mother-tongue; and ſome he had ſet at liberty, who were in cruel ſlavery at home.* It is ſaid, that upon this occaſion there happened an unlucky affair, which gave him great uneaſineſs; for when he had reſolved to take off the debts, and was contriving ſuitable ſpeeches, and a proper way of beginning the buſineſs, he told ſome of his friends, Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, in whom he had the greateſt confidence, and with whom he often adviſed, that

* Others ſay ſeventy-five.

† Rualdus juſtly reckons this among Plutarch's miſtakes. How is it poſſible that a creditor ſhould not loſe, who is paid only three quarters of his debt? Is a ſmall piece of money made equal in value to a bigger, by giving it the ſame name?

‡ Ὅροι, which were, as Harpocration tells us, certain billets fixed up upon any houſe or land that was mortgaged.

he would not meddle with the lands, but only free the people from their debts. But they immediately taking the advantage, borrowed vaſt ſums of money beforehand from rich men, and purchaſed ſome large farms; and when the law was enacted, they kept the poſſeſſions, but would not return the money to their creditors; which brought Solon under great cenſure and reproach, as if he himſelf had not been abuſed by them, but concerned with them in this act of injuſtice. But this calumny was preſently confuted, by his complying with the law firſt of all, and remitting the debts due to him, which amounted to five talents. Some, and among the reſt Polyzelus of Rhodes, ſay it was fifteen talents. But however they called his friends *chreocopidæ* [i. e. *debt-ſinkers*] ever after.

In making this law he pleaſed neither party; for he diſobliged the rich in cancelling their bonds, and the poor ſtill more in not making a diviſion of land as they expected, nor making all equal in eſtate, as Lycurgus had done. But then it muſt be conſidered, that Lycurgus being the eleventh from Hercules, and having reigned many years in Lacedæmon, had got great reputation, power, and friends, which he could uſe in modelling his ſtate. He applied force more than perſuaſion, inſomuch that he loſt his eye in the tumult; and by this means eſtabliſhed that regulation which is the moſt effectual to preſerve and unite a ſtate, not permitting any to be poor or rich in the commonwealth. But Solon could not effect ſo great an alteration, being only a commoner *, and of a moderate eſtate; yet he acted to

* Δημοτικός. Plutarch in the beginning of this life ſaith, Solon was of one of the beſt families in Athens, being deſcended from Codrus. How comes it about that in this place he calls him a commoner? He muſt mean that Solon's family by degrees fell into decay, and that their fortune being unable to ſupport their nobility, they ſunk into a ſtate of mediocrity.

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the height of his power, having nothing but his own prudence and the good opinion of his citizens to rely on. And that he offended the generality, who looked for another poſture of affairs, he declares in theſe words:

Once prais'd by all, now all with jealous leer
Eye me aſkance, their envy or their fear.
Yet who but I, without a ſtronger rein,
Could by mere art the headſtrong croud reſtrain?

But in a little time, being ſenſible of their own advantage, they deſiſted from their complaints, made a public ſacrifice, calling it *ſeiſacthia*, (or *the diſcharge*); and made Solon ſuperintendant of the laws, and of the commonwealth. They gave him power not in ſome particulars only, but in every thing, over all their magiſtracies, their aſſemblies, courts, and ſenates; and authoriſed him to appoint what eſtate each man muſt have to qualify him for any of theſe, what ſhould be their number and the time of their meeting, and to diſſolve or continue any of the preſent conſtitutions according to his pleaſure. Firſt then he repealed all Draco's laws *, (except thoſe concerning murder,) becauſe they were too ſevere, and their puniſhments too great; for death was appointed for almoſt all offences, inſomuch that thoſe that were convicted of idleneſs were to die; and thoſe that ſtole a cabbage, or an apple, were liable to the ſame puniſhment with thoſe who committed ſacrilege or murder. And this occaſioned that celebrated remark of Demades, *That Draco's laws were not written with ink, but blood.* And he himſelf being once aſked, *Why he made death the*

* Draco was the firſt among the Greeks that puniſhed adultery with death; and that he might imprint in the people a horror for murder, he ordained that proſecution ſhould be carried on even againſt inanimate things, if they had accidentally cauſed the death of any one. For inſtance, a ſtatue that had unfortunately fallen on a perſon was baniſhed, it being made criminal for any one to keep it in Attica.

puniſhment of moſt offences? replied, *Small ones deſerve that, and I have no higher for the greateſt crimes.* In the next place, Solon being willing to continue all offices of magiſtracy in the hands of the rich men, as they had been, and yet to bring a mixture of the people into other parts of the government, of which they had no ſhare before, took an account of the citizens eſtates, and thoſe whoſe eſtates produced five hundred medimni both in dry and liquid fruits, he placed in the firſt rank, calling them *Pentacoſiomedimni*; thoſe of the ſecond claſs, who were ſuch as could keep a horſe, or were worth annually three hundred medimni, were named *Hippadatelountes*; the third claſs conſiſted of ſuch whoſe revenue amounted to but two hundred medimni, and they were called *Zeugitæ* *; all the others were called *Thetes*; theſe were not admitted to any office, but might come to the great aſſembly and give their votes: this at firſt ſeemed nothing, but afterwards appeared a conſiderable privilege; for moſt of the controverſies came at laſt to theſe popular judges; becauſe in all matters which he put under the cogniſance of the magiſtrates, he gave ſuch as pleaſed liberty to appeal to the popular court. Beſides, it is ſaid that he was obſcure and ambiguous in the wording of his laws, on purpoſe to increaſe the power of theſe popular courts; for ſince their differences could not be adjuſted by the letter of the law, they ſtood in continual need of judges, and brought all controverſies before them, who by this means were in a manner ſuperior to the laws †. And of this equality he himſelf makes mention in this manner:

* Perhaps, they were ſo called becauſe they were in the middle rank between the Hippadatelountes, or the knights, and the Thetes, or vaſſals. So in their galleys, the rowers in the middle bank were called *Zeugitæ*, being between the Thalamites and Thranites.

† This ſome blamed in Solon, as ſetting the people above the law, as Ariſtotle obſerves, *Polit. lib. 2. cap. 10.*

Fit

Fit pow'r in ev'ry rank my laws maintain'd;
The poor ſupported, and the rich reſtrain'd;
Each againſt each ſecur'd; myſelf their ſhield,
Nor theſe nor thoſe oppreſſion taught to yield.

And for the greater ſecurity of the common people, he gave any man liberty to enter an action in behalf of one who had been injured; ſo that if any one was beaten, maimed, or ſuffered violence from another, any man that was willing and able might proſecute the offender: very wiſely intending by this to accuſtom the citizens, like members of the ſame body, to reſent and be ſenſible of one another's injuries. And there is a ſaying of his agreeable to this law; for being aſked what city was beſt modelled? *That*, ſays he, *where thoſe who are not injured, are no leſs ready to proſecute and puniſh the offenders than thoſe who are.* He conſtituted the court of the Areopagus *, which was compoſed of ſuch as had borne the office of Archon †, and of which

* This was a hill near the citidel of Athens, on which was a piece of ground incloſed, but uncovered, where the judges met to hear and judge in all criminal cauſes, and had all matters of importance, whether of a religious or civil nature, brought before them. There were in this court two ſilver ſeats, or ſtools, one of which was called *the ſtool of impudence*, and the other *of injury*. The accuſer ſat on the laſt, and the accuſed on the firſt. This court was not primarily erected by Solon; it was a tribunal a thouſand years before him, even in the days of Cecrops, who called it *Areopagus*, or *Mars's hill*, becauſe Mars had been condemned here for the murder of Hal rothius the ſon of Neptune. Before Solon's time the men of the beſt reputation in the whole city were judges in this court. Solon was the firſt who thought it expedient, that for the future only ſuch as had diſcharged the office of archon ſhould be advanced to that dignity; and as he added very much to the authority of the court, he was ever after conſidered as the founder. There was nothing more noble nor auguſt than that ſenate, nothing equal to the glory of the ſenators: they were honoured as gods.

† The archons were nine in number. The chief of them was called *Archon* by way of eminence; from him the year had its denomination; for which reaſon he is ſometimes ſtyled *Eponymus*. The ſecond was ſometimes called *Baſileus*, or *King*; his authority was principally exerted in religious affairs. The third was called *Polemarch*, or

which he himſelf having been Archon, was conſequently a member. But ſtill obſerving that the people, now free from their debts, grew proud and imperious; he ſettled another court of four hundred, a hundred out of each of the four tribes *, who were to inſpect all maters before they were to be propounded to the people, and to take care that nothing but what had been diligently examined, ſhould be brought before the general aſſembly. The upper council he made inſpectors and keepers of the laws; ſuppoſing that the commonwealth being held by theſe two councils, as by firm anchors, would be leſs liable to be toſſed by tumults, and the people more at quiet. Thus moſt writers agree, that Solon inſtituted the Areopagus, as we have ſaid; which ſeems to be confirmed, becauſe Draco makes no mention of the Areopagites, but in all capital cauſes applies himſelf to the Ephetæ †: yet Solon's thirteenth table has a law (which is the eighth) ſet down in theſe very words: *Who-*

general; and the other ſix by the common name of *Theſmothetæ*, or *lawgivers*. The Archon, the Baſileus, the Polemarch, and the Theſmothetæ had different offices and juriſdictions, which, it is to be ſuppoſed, were at firſt ſuitable to their names; but after the alterations which Solon made, there ſeems not to have been a very ſtrict relation between the name and the office, the old name being retained, though the office was changed.

* The number of tribes was afterwards increaſed by Cliſthenes to ten; and then this ſenate conſiſted of five hundred, fifty being choſen out of each tribe. After the election of the ſenators, officers were choſen by lot to preſide in the ſenate, after this manner. Their year (which was lunar) being divided into ten parts according to the number of the tribes, the ſenators belonging to each tribe preſided for the tenth part of a year; theſe were called *Prytanes*, and the time of their continuance in office *Prytanea*. Each Prytanea was again divided into five weeks, and ten of the Prytanes governed for a week, during which time they were called *Proedri*; and out of theſe one was choſen to preſide over the reſt for each of the ſeven days; ſo that three of the Proedri were excluded from preſiding. This preſident was called Epiſtates.

† The court of the Ephetæ was inſtituted, according to ſome, in the time of Demophoon the ſon of Theſeus; others ſay that it was inſtituted by Draco. Before Solon's time the authority of the Ephetæ was very great, and ſuperior to that of the Areopagites; but Solon conſiderably leſſened their power, and limited their juriſdiction.

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ever before Solon's archonſhip were diſgraced, let them be reſtored, except thoſe that being condemned by the Areopagites, Ephetæ, or in the court of the Prytaneum by the kings, for murder, or robbery, or for attempting to uſurp the government, had fled their country when this law was made. And theſe words ſeem to ſhow that the Areopagus was eſtabliſhed before Solon's laws; for who could be condemned in the Areopagus before his time, if he was the firſt that gave this court the power of judging *? unleſs, which is probable, there is ſome defect and obſcurity in this table, and it ſhould run thus: *Thoſe that have been convicted of ſuch offences as now belong to the cogniſance of the Areopagites, Ephetæ, or the Prytanes, ſince the making of this law, ſhall remain ſtill in diſgrace, whilſt others are reſtored.* This I leave to the judgment of the reader.

Amongſt his other laws, that is very peculiar and ſurpriſing, which makes all thoſe infamous who ſtand neuters in a ſedition †. But he thought that no man ſhould be inſenſible with regard to his country, nor value himſelf upon providing for his own ſecurity, and refuſing to ſhare the diſtreſſes of the public; but, on the contrary, ſhould run all hazards in defence of a juſt cauſe, rather than remain an inactive ſpectator, waiting the iſſue of the conteſt without any other concern than for his own ſafety. But that ſeems an abſurd and ridiculous law, which permits an orphan-heireſs, if her huſband prove impotent, to have recourſe to one of his neareſt kinſmen ‡. Yet ſome ſay, this law was well

* Notwithſtanding what Plutarch ſays, it is certain, (as has been already obſerved), that the court of Areopagus was long before Solon's time; for the old poets make Oreſtes to have been tried by it for the murder of his mother. See *Æſchylus in Eumenid.*

† They were likewiſe condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and their effects were confiſcated.

‡ There was a law which ordained that female orphans who had a mind to marry, ſhould be married to the neareſt kinſman. *Orbæ, qui ſunt genere proximi, iis nubunto.* The next relation was without doubt ready

well contrived againſt thoſe, who, conſcious of their own inability, yet, for the ſake of the portion, would match with heireſſes, and make uſe of law to put a violence upon nature; for when they ſee the heireſs is allowed this liberty, they muſt either abſtain from ſuch marriages, or continue them with diſgrace, and ſuffer for the baſe injury which their covetouſneſs prompted them to commit. It is alſo right not to allow women in thoſe caſes to chuſe for themſelves among all men indifferently, but to confine them to their huſband's neareſt relations, that the children may be of the ſame family. And agreeable to this is the law, that the bride and bridegroom ſhall be ſhut into a chamber, and eat of the ſame quince together *, and that the huſband of ſuch an heireſs ſhall be alone with her thrice a-month; for though he gets no children, yet it is an inſtance of that reſpect and affection which an huſband owes to a virtuous wife, it takes off all petty differences, and will not permit their little quarrels to proceed to a rupture.

ready enough, if the orphan was rich; if poor, the law obliged him either to marry her, or pay a fine; and upon this law turns a conſiderable point in Terence's Phormio: *Lex eſt, ut orbæ, qui ſunt genere proximi, iis nubant.* Moſes gave the ſame law to God's own people, Deut. xxv. 5. Ruth, chap. ii. Solon, to prevent the impotent from marrying, and thereby impoſing upon nature, perverted this law, which was deſigned only for orphan-heireſſes that were not yet married, and marked out to them the perſons that were to be their huſbands; but Solon extended it even to thoſe that were married, and in the power of their huſbands; than which nothing could be more unbecoming; for which reaſon Plutarch very juſtly calls it a ridiculous law. It is prudent indeed to prevent, or correct, the diſorders of ſuch unfruitful marriages, but not to correct them by another diſorder of a worſe tendency, and by authoriſing corruption and debauchery.

* It looks as if Plutarch meant here that Solon had ordained this ceremony only for rich heireſſes, who had been married to impotent huſbands; but the ſame was obſerved in all marriages; the legiſlator thereby intimating, not only that the married couple were to abſtain from giving each other hard words, for it is the quality of the quince to ſweeten the breath, but alſo that they ſhould be watchful, and intent upon their mutual ſafety and preſervation, it being likewiſe the property of the quince to deaden the malignity of poiſon, and render it ineffectual.

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In all other marriages he forbade doweries to be given; the wife was to bring with her three ſuits of cloaths, ſome houſehold ſtuff of ſmall value, and nothing more. For he would not have marriage to be a matter of gain or traffic, but to be a ſociable ſtate of man and wife for procreation, and for mutual endearment and love. Dionyſius tyrant of Sicily, when his mother deſired him to marry her to a young Syracuſan, replied, *I have indeed overturned the laws of my country by my tyranny, but cannot put a violence upon thoſe of nature by a marriage ſo diſproportioned.* Such diſorders are never to be ſuffered in a commonwealth, nor ſuch unſeaſonable and unaffectionate matches, which cannot anſwer the purpoſe and end of marriage. A prudent governor or lawgiver might ſay to an old man that takes a young wife, what is ſpoken to Philoctetes in the tragedy, *Is marriage fit for ſuch a wretch as thee?* And if he finds a young man with a rich old woman, like a partridge growing fat upon the duty, he might remove him to a young virgin that needs a huſband. But of this enough.

Another commendable law of Solon's is that which forbids men to ſpeak evil of the dead; for it is pious to think deceaſed perſons ſacred, and juſt to ſpare thoſe that are gone, and politic to prevent the perpetuity of diſcord. He likewiſe forbade them to ſpeak evil of the living in a temple, in a court of juſtice, in the aſſembly of the people, or at the public games; whoever offended was to pay three drachmas to the injured perſon, and two to the public: for never to be able to reſtrain paſſion, ſhows a weak nature and ill-breeding; and always to moderate it is very hard, and to ſome impoſſible. Now, the matter of laws muſt be poſſible, if the maker deſigns to puniſh a few uſefully, rather than many to no purpoſe.

He is likewiſe much commended for his law concerning wills: for before that time no man was allowed

lowed to make a will; but all the wealth and eſtate of the deceaſed was to continue among the relations. But he permitted them, if they had no children, to beſtow it on whom they pleaſed; preferring choice to neceſſity, and eſteeming friendſhip a ſtronger tie than kindred; and thus he gave every man the free diſpoſal of his own eſtate. Yet he allowed not all ſorts of legacies, but thoſe only which were not extorted by the frenzy of a diſeaſe, by charms, impriſonment, force, or the perſuaſions of a wife; with good reaſon thinking there is no great difference whether a man be perſuaded or forced to do what is not fit; and putting the inducement of deceit and neceſſity, of pleaſure and pain, upon the ſame foot, ſince both are equally powerful to hinder a man from uſing his reaſon.

He alſo made a law for the conduct of the women in their journeys, mournings, and ſacrifices, preventing thereby the exceſs, diſorder, and licentiouſneſs that had prevailed before. When they went out of town, they were ſuffered to take no more with them than three habits; the expenſe of their proviſions was confined to the value of an *obolus*; their pannier or baſket was not to be above a cubit high, and at night they were not to ſtir but in a chariot, with a torch before them. At funerals they were forbid to ſcratch and tear themſelves, to ſing mournful ſongs, or utter any loud cries and lamentations *. To offer an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor to bury above three garments with the body †; nor to viſit the tombs of any beſides their own family,

* The Romans borrowed this law from Solon. It is ſtill to be found in the twelve tables: *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergo habento.* "Let not the women ſcratch their cheeks, nor make lamentations at interments."

† We find this law likewiſe in the twelve tables: *Sumptum minuito; tria ſi volet ricinia adhibeto et vincula purpuræ.* "Let the expenſes be leſſened; let no more be thrown upon the corpſe than three robes edged with purple."

unleſs

unleſs at the very funeral *. Moſt of theſe things are likewiſe forbidden by our laws; but this is further added in ours, that thoſe who are convicted of extravagance in their mournings, are to be puniſhed as ſoft and effeminate, by the cenſors of the women.

Obſerving the city was filled with perſons that flocked from all parts into Attica for ſecurity of living, that moſt of the country was poor and barren, and that the traders at ſea imported nothing to thoſe who could give them nothing in exchange; he perſuaded the citizens to apply themſelves to mechanics and manufactures; and made a law, that no ſon ſhould be obliged to relieve his father, if he had not bred him up to ſome trade. It is true, Lycurgus having a city free from all ſtrangers, and land enough for a great many people, or (according to Euripides) *ſufficient for twice the number of citizens*, and abundance of Helots about Sparta, who were not to be kept idle, but to be broken with continual toil, he did well to take off his citizens from laborious and mechanical trades, and keep them to their arms, ſo as to be well ſkilled and practiſed only in the art of war. But Solon, fitting his laws to the ſtate of things, and not ordering things according to his laws, and finding the ground ſcarce rich enough to maintain the farmers, and altogether inſufficient to feed the lazy multitude, brought trades into credit, and ordered the Areopagites to examine how every man got his living, and to chaſtiſe the idle. But that law was more rigid, which (as Heraclides Ponticus † informs us) declared the

* Relations might go and viſit them as often as they pleaſed, and this was looked upon as a pious action. But no others were ſuffered to go thither after the funeral was over, becauſe ſuch viſits were ſuſpicious, as if deſigned to violate the ſanctity of the place, and convey away the bones, which they made uſe of in their ſorceries.

† He was a diſciple of Ariſtotle. He was the author of ſeveral tragedies which he pretended were written by Theſpis.

ſons

ſons of harlots not obliged to relieve their fathers: for it is evident, that he who ſhows no reſpect for marriage, doth not take a woman for the ſake of children, but for pleaſure; and thus has his juſt reward, having no pretence to upbraid his children, to whom he has made their very birth a ſcandal and reproach. But many of Solon's laws about women ſeem abſurd: for he permitted any one to kill an adulterer that was caught in the fact; if any one forced a free woman, a hundred drachmas was the fine; if he only uſed perſuaſion, twenty; but common proſtitutes were not included in this law. He made it unlawful to ſell a daughter, or a ſiſter, unleſs, being yet unmarried, ſhe had forfeited her chaſtity. But it is irrational to puniſh the ſame crime ſometimes very ſeverely and rigorouſly, and ſometimes very lightly, and as it were in ſport, with a trivial fine; unleſs there being little money then in Athens, that ſcarcity made thoſe mulcts the more grievous puniſhment. And indeed, in the valuation of things to be ſacrificed, he reckons a ſheep and a *medimnus* of corn each at the price of a drachma *. The victor in the Iſthmian games was to have for a reward a hundred drachmas †; the conqueror in the Olympian, five hundred; he that

* The conſtruction of the original is not clear in this place; it may perhaps ſignify that a ſheep and a drachma were together equal in value to a *medimnus* of corn.

† We learn from Diogenes Laertius, that Solon leſſened the rewards conferred on the conquerors in thoſe games, which before his time had been very conſiderable. He thought it a ſhameful thing to give athletes, or wreſtlers, more bountiful rewards than were reſerved for thoſe who died in the wars fighting for their country, whoſe children ought rather to be educated at the public expenſe, that they might one day be encouraged to follow their fathers example. Whereas thoſe athletes were no better than ſpendthrifts, and their victories were often more miſchievous than uſeful to their country. At firſt the rewards of the victors were only ſome branches of olive for thoſe who had obtained the victory in the Olympic, and of palm for ſuch as had conquered in the Iſthmian games. Eurylochus was the firſt who made an innovation in that noble cuſtom, and appointed a reward in money.

caught

caught a he-wolf, five drachmas; he that caught a ſhe-wolf, one; the former ſum (as Demetrius Phalereus aſſerts) was the value of an ox, the latter of a ſheep: for though the prices which in his ſixteenth table he ſets on the ſelect victims were probably far greater than the common prices, yet even theſe are very ſmall in compariſon of the preſent. The Athenians, becauſe their fields were better for paſture than corn, were from the beginning great enemies to wolves; and ſome affirm their tribes did not take their names from the ſons of Ion, but from the different ſorts of occupation that they followed; the ſoldiers were called *Hoplitæ*; the artificers, *Ergatæ*; and of the remaining two, ſuch as tilled the ground, were called *Teleontes*, and the ſhepherds and graſiers, *Aigicores* *. And as Attica was a dry parched ſoil, without rivers or lakes †, where few ſprings were to be found ‡, and where for the moſt part they had no other water but what they drew out of wells which they had dug for that purpoſe, there was a law made, that where there was a public well within the diſtance of four furlongs, all ſhould draw at that, but when it was further off, they might provide a private well; and if they had dug ten fathom deep in their own ground, and could find no

* Strabo is of this ſentiment, contrary to the opinion of Herodotus and Euripides, who ſay that Ion the ſon of Xuthus had four ſons, Teleon, Aigicores, Ergades, and Oplites, from whom the four firſt tribes had their names reſpectively.

† It is in the original, *rivers that are running conſtantly*; by which it is to be underſtood, that the Iliſſus and Eridanus, two rivers in Attica, were frequently dry. Callimachus, in his catalogue of the rivers of Europe, ſays, he ſhould not forbear laughing if any poet ſhould be fool enough to ſay, that *the daughters of the Athenians drew clear water out of the river Eridanus*, when the beaſts themſelves could not quench their thirſt in it.

‡ Strabo tells us, there was a ſpring of freſh water near the Lycæum which afforded a ſupply of extraordinary good water. But in general Attica was a very dry ſoil; for which reaſon the inhabitants in their daily prayers beſought Jupiter, *to pour down rain upon the lands and fields of the Athenians.*

water, they had liberty to fetch a veſſel of ſix gallons twice a-day from their neighbours: for he thought it prudent to make proviſion againſt want, but not to encourage lazineſs. His regulations about planting were very judicious. No one was allowed to plant a tree within five feet of his neighbour's field, and if it was a fig or an olive, not within nine; for their roots ſpread further than others, nor can they be planted near all ſorts of trees without damage, for from ſome they draw away the nouriſhment, and ſome they hurt by their effluvia. He that would dig a pit, or a ditch *, was to dig it as far diſtant from his neighbour's ground as it was deep; and he that would raiſe ſtocks of bees, was to raiſe them at three hundred feet diſtance from thoſe which another had already raiſed. He permitted only oil to be exported †; and thoſe that exported any other of the products of the earth, the Archon was ſolemnly to curſe, or elſe himſelf to pay a hundred drachmas. This law was written in his firſt table; and therefore it is not abſolutely incredible what ſome affirm, that the exportation of figs was anciently forbidden, and the informer againſt the delinquents called a *ſycophant*. He made a law concerning hurts and injuries from beaſts, in which he commands the maſter of any dog that bit a man to deliver him up chained to a log of timber four cubits long; a ſingular contrivance to ſecure men from dogs. The law concerning naturalizing ſtrangers admits of ſome doubt; for he permitted only thoſe to be made free of Athens who were in perpetual exile from their own country, or came with

* Τάφρους, ſo the printed copies have it, *i. e. ditches*; but this law is ſtill preſerved in the Roman pandect, *lib.* 10. *tit.* 1. *leg.* 13. and there it is τάφον, *a grave*, and not τάφρον.

† There was great abundance of oil in Attica, and but a little of other fruits in proportion. So that thoſe fruits were neceſſary for the nouriſhment of the people, and in ſome meaſure ſupplied the want of grain.

their

their whole family to exerciſe ſome trade there; and this he did (they ſay) not to diſcourage ſtrangers, but rather invite them, by making them ſecure of the privileges of the government: and beſides, he thought both theſe ſorts of men would prove more faithful citizens than other ſtrangers; the former out of neceſſity, becauſe they had been forced from their own country; the latter out of choice, becauſe they had voluntarily forſaken it.

Another of Solon's peculiar laws was that concerning eating at the public charge, (which he called *Paraſitein* *); for he allowed not the ſame perſon to come often, and puniſhed him who refuſed to come when invited; thinking that the one ſhowed a covetous diſpoſition, and the other a contempt of the public. All his laws he eſtabliſhed for 100 years, and wrote them on wooden tables named *axones*, which might be turned round in oblong caſes; ſome ſmall relics of them are preſerved even to our time in the common hall at Athens. Theſe, as Ariſtotle affirms, were called *cyrbes*, and Cratinus the comic poet ſomewhere ſays,

I ſwear by Solon's and by Draco's name,
Whoſe cyrbes now —— beneath our kettles flame.

But ſome ſay thoſe are properly cyrbes †, which

* In the firſt ages the name of *paraſite* was venerable and ſacred; for it properly ſignified one that was *a commoner or meſſmate at the table of ſacrifices*. There were in Greece ſeveral perſons particularly honoured with this title, and were much like thoſe whom the Romans called *epulones*. Solon ordained that every tribe ſhould offer a ſacrifice once a-month, and at the end of the ſacrifice make a public entertainment, at which all who were of that tribe ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt by turns. They who were named to that office, when it came to be their turn, and did not attend, were returned to the council, and obliged to give an account of their conduct.

† The cyrbes, according to ſome, were triangular, and made of ſtone, and the axones quadrangular; and though they are here ſaid to have been of wood, yet others ſay they were ſtone pillars at firſt, and afterwards wood whitened. But in time cyrbes and axones were general names for all public monuments of this kind. See *Harpocration*, and *Suidas*, and *the ſcholiaſt upon Apollonius, lib. 4. v. 280.*

contain the laws concerning ſacrifices and the rites of religion, and all the others axones. The ſenate all jointly ſwore to confirm the laws, and every one of the Theſmothetæ * made a peculiar vow at the ſtone in the market-place, that if he broke any of the laws, he would dedicate a golden ſtatue †, at Delphi, that ſhould weigh as much as himſelf.

Obſerving the irregularity of the months, and that the moon did not always riſe and ſet with the ſun, but often upon the ſame day happened to overtake and go before him; he ordered that day to be named *hene kai nea, the old and the new*; attributing that part of it which was before the conjunction to the old month, and the reſt to the new: being the firſt it ſeems who underſtood that verſe of Homer,

The end and the beginning of the month ‡.

* It has been obſerved before, that they were ſix in number; they had particular charge of the laws, from whence they were called *Theſmothetæ*: their buſineſs was to explain the ſenſe, and reconcile the ſeeming contrarieties of the law; to inquire into ſuch as had been neglected, and reſtore them to their primitive vigour; and to ſee if there were not many upon the ſame ſubject. They were alſo judges of criminals, and had the power of life and death.

† It is probable there was not gold enough in all Greece to make ſuch a ſtatue. After the Phocians had plundered the temple at Delphi, (which was 200 years after this time), and eſpecially after Alexander's conqueſts in Aſia, gold became more common; but in Solon's time it was ſo ſcarce, that when the Spartans were commanded by the oracle to gild the face of Apollo's ſtatue, they inquired in vain for gold all over Greece, and were directed by the oracle to buy ſome of Crœſus king of Lydia. *Vid.* Bentley's Diſſert. on Phalaris. This vow muſt therefore be underſtood hyperbolically, and as containing tacitly a curſe; for whoever ſhould incur the penalty, and was not able to perform the vow, was to be baniſhed, and to have his goods confiſcated.

‡ This line is the 162d verſe of the 14th book of the Odyſſey, where Ulyſſes himſelf ſpeaking of his return ſays, *Be aſſured of the truth of what I ſay, Ulyſſes ſhall return hither this very year. Yes, he ſhall return into his own palace at the end, and beginning of the month.* Solon knew very well that Homer could not ſpeak but of one and the ſame day; for how could a man come home two days together? He therefore found that the poet in this manner explained the day of the conjunction, wherein the moon is at the ſame time both old and new, cloſing up one month and opening that which follows.

The

The following day he called the *new moon*; after the twentieth he counted, not by adding, but ſubtracting, and reckoned backward, according to the decreaſing phaſes of the moon, to the thirtieth *.

After theſe laws were enacted †, many perſons came continually to Solon, either to commend or diſpraiſe them, and adviſe him to make ſuch additions as ſuited each man's fancy, or to omit ſuch

* He divided the month into three tens or tithings, The firſt was called *of the month beginning*, ἱσταμένυ μηνὸς; the ſecond, *of the month middling*, μεσοῦντος μηνὸς; and the laſt, *of the month finiſhing*, φθίνοντος μηνὸς. The firſt was numbered in order, *viz. The firſt, ſecond, third of the month beginning.* The ſecond was numbered in the ſame manner, *the firſt, ſecond, third of the month middling*, or elſe *the firſt after ten, the ſecond after ten*, &c. till they came to twenty. When they came to the laſt ten, then they reckoned by ſubtraction; for inſtead of ſaying *one after twenty, two after twenty*, they call it *the tenth of the month finiſhing*, that is, the 21ſt; *the ninth of the month finiſhing*, that is, the 22d; and ſo of the reſt. Sometimes they left out the words, *of the month finiſhing*, when they counted ſeveral days one after another, for in that caſe it was impoſſible to be miſtaken. Thus Strepſiades, in one of Ariſtophanes's plays called *The Clouds*, inſtead of reckoning *ſix after twenty, ſeven after twenty*, &c. ſays *five, four, three, two, and the moſt abominable of all days, that of the old and new moon*, that is, the 30th. The Romans imitated them in this laſt way of ſubtracting, and it is aſtoniſhing to conceive how nations ſo knowing and polite could follow dates ſo unnatural and extravagant.

† Plutarch has only mentioned thoſe laws of Solon which he thought the moſt ſingular and remarkable; Diogenes Laertius has related ſome others that ought not to be forgotten. "Let not the guardian live in the ſame houſe with the mother of his pupils. Let not the tuition of minors be committed to him who is next after them in the inheritance. Let not a ſilverſmith keep the impreſſion of a ſeal which he has ſold. Let him that puts out the eye of a man that has but one, loſe both his. If an Archon gets drunk, let him be put to death. Let him who refuſeth to nouriſh his father and mother be infamous: and ſo let him that has conſumed his patrimony. A debauchee ſhall not be allowed to ſpeak in the aſſemblies of the people." There are two other laws of Solon very remarkable, of which Plutarch has taken no notice: one of them is againſt lewd women, and the other againſt procurers. "A woman caught in adultery ſhall not be ſuffered to deck herſelf, and aſſiſt at the public ſacrifices, for fear her commerce ſhould corrupt others. In caſe ſhe ſhould appear there, or be decked out, it ſhall be lawful for the firſt that ſees her to ſtrip her and take her ornaments; he may likewiſe beat her as much as he pleaſes, provided he does not kill nor lame her." As for procurers, he ordained that they ſhould be purſued, and put to death if taken.

things as any of them happened to diſlike; and many deſired him to explain the meaning and deſign of particular paſſages. He being ſenſible that a refuſal would diſoblige them, and that if he complied with their importunity, his anſwers might give offence; in order to extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties, and to leave no room for cavils and exceptions, (for as he himſelf ſays,

'Tis rare that ſtateſmen can all parties pleaſe),

that he might have an excuſe for travelling, he purchaſed a ſhip, and having obtained leave for ten years abſence, he departed; for he hoped by that time his laws would become cuſtomary and familiar. His firſt voyage was to Egypt, and he lived, as he himſelf ſays,

Near Nilus' mouth by fair Canopus' ſhore.

He ſpent ſome time in ſtudy with Pſenophis of Heliopolis and Sonchis the Saite, the moſt learned of all the prieſts; from whom, as Plato ſays, getting an account of the Atlantic iſland, he put it into a poem *, and endeavoured to bring it into credit among the Grecians. From thence he ſailed to Cyprus, where he was received with great friendſhip by Philocyprus one of the kings there, who had a ſmall city built by Demophoon, the ſon of Theſeus, near the river Clarius, in a ſtrong place indeed, but on a hard and barren ſoil. Solon perſuaded him, ſince there lay a fair plain below, to remove the city thither, and make it both larger and more pleaſant; and while he ſtaid there, he took care of

* Plato finiſhed this hiſtory from Solon's memoirs, as is to be ſeen in his Timæus and Critias. He pretends that this Atlantic iſland, ſituated in the ocean, was bigger than Aſia and Africa, and that it was drowned in one day and night. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Carthaginians, who diſcovered it, made it capital for any one to inhabit it. It has been inferred from hence, that in thoſe days the Africans had ſome knowledge of America, upon which the Greeks build the fable which Plato has preſerved in his Critias.

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its building and peopling, and aſſiſted in fitting it both for defence and convenience of living: inſomuch that many new inhabitants flocked to Philocyprus, and the other kings grew jealous; and therefore to honour Solon, he called the city *Soli*, which was formerly named *Apeia*, that is, *high*: and Solon himſelf, in his elegies, ſpeaking to Philocyprus, mentions this foundation in theſe words:

Long may you live, and fill the Solian throne,
Succeeded ſtill by children of your own!
And whilſt from your bleſs'd iſle I gently ſail,
Let Venus ſend a kind and proſp'rous gale:
Let her enlarge the bounds of your command,
And raiſe your town, and ſend me ſafe to land.

There are ſome who think the ſtory of Solon's interview with Crœſus a fiction *, as not being agreeable to chronology; but I cannot reject ſo famous a relation, and ſo well atteſted, and (what is more) ſo agreeable to Solon's temper, ſo worthy his wiſdom and greatneſs of mind, becauſe it happens not to agree with ſome chronological canons, which thouſands have endeavoured to regulate, and yet to this day could never bring the different accounts to any agreeement. It is ſaid, that Solon †, when he came to Sardis at the requeſt of Crœſus, was in the ſame condition as a native of an inland country

* Solon, they ſay, was archon the third year of the 46th Olympiad, and Crœſus was overthrown by Cyrus the ſecond year of the 58th; which makes it impoſſible for Solon to be living at that time, that is to ſay, forty-ſeven years after his archonſhip. This they prove more ſtrongly by making it appear that Solon died when Hegeſtratus was archon in the ſecond year of the 51ſt Olympiad. Now, Crœſus was not king till the firſt year of the 56th Olympiad, which was twenty-two years after the death of Solon. How then are we to make this voyage of Solon into Lydia fall in with the reign of Crœſus; eſpecially if, according to Plutarch, this voyage was performed even before the tyranny of Piſiſtratus? This is ſo full of difficulties and contrarieties, that it is impoſſible to reconcile them, unleſs we agree with Plutarch that the ancient chronological tables are by no means exact, notwithſtanding the great labour and pains ſeveral perſons have been at to regulate them.

† This ſtory is told at large in the firſt book of Herodotus.

when

when firſt he goes to ſee the ocean: for as he fancies every river he meets with to be the ſea, ſo Solon, as he paſſed through the court, and ſaw a great many nobles richly dreſſed, and proudly ſtrutting among a croud of attendants and guards, thought every one had been Crœſus, till at laſt he was brought to his preſence, and found him decked with all the ornaments of jewels, purple, and embroidery, all that could ſtrike the beholders with admiration of his grandeur and magnificence. When Solon came before him, and ſeemed not at all ſurpriſed, nor paid Crœſus thoſe compliments he expected, but ſhowed himſelf, to all diſcerning eyes, to be a man that deſpiſed ſuch vain oſtentation and empty pomp, he commanded them to open his treaſury to him, and to carry him about and ſhow him his rich furniture, though he did not deſire to ſee it: for Solon needed only to look upon him, to give a judgment of the man. When he returned from viewing all this, Crœſus aſked him, *if ever he had ſeen a happier man than he was?* And when Solon anſwered, *he knew one Tellus a fellow-citizen of his*; and told him, *that this Tellus was an honeſt man, had good children, a competent eſtate all his life, which he ended bravely fighting for his country*; Crœſus looked upon him as a man void of all taſte and judgment, for not meaſuring happineſs by the abundance of gold and ſilver; and for preferring the life and death of a mean and private man, before ſo much power and ſuch an empire. However he aſked him again, if, beſide Tellus, he knew any other man more happy? Solon replied, *Yes, Cleobis and Bito, who were very loving brothers, and very dutiful to their mother*; *for when the oxen were too long before they came, they put themſelves to the waggon, and drew their mother to Juno's temple, who was extremely pleaſed with their action, and called happy by her neighbours*; *and then after they had ſacrificed and feaſted, they went to reſt, and never roſe again, but died without pain or trouble immediately*

immediately after they had acquired ſuch great reputation. How, ſays Crœſus diſpleaſed, *doſt not thou reckon us then amongſt the number of happy men?* Solon, unwilling either to flatter him or to exaſperate him more, replied, *King of Lydia, as God has given us Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, ſo likewiſe of a kind of free and popular wiſdom, (not perhaps ſo well ſuited to the ſplendour of royalty, as to our leſs exalted condition), which contemplating the viciſſitudes of human life, forbids our being elated with any preſent enjoyment, or greatly admiring the happineſs of any man while it continues liable to alterations from time; ſince futurity contains in it an unknown variety of events. Him only we eſteem happy, whoſe happineſs God continues to the end; but for him who has ſtill all the hazards of life to encounter, we think he can with no more reaſon be pronounced happy, than the wreſtler can be proclaimed and crowned as victor before he has finiſhed the combat.* After this he was diſmiſſed, having grieved, but not inſtructed Crœſus. Æſop, the author of the fables, was then at Sardis upon Crœſus's invitation, and very much eſteemed; he was concerned at the ill reception Solon met with, and gave him this advice: *Solon, let your viſits to kings be as few, or as pleaſant to them as poſſible.* Solon replied, *No, rather let them be as few, or as uſeful to them as poſſible.* Then indeed Crœſus deſpiſed Solon; but when he was overcome by Cyrus, had loſt his city, was taken alive, condemned to be burnt, and laid bound upon the pile before all the Perſians and Cyrus himſelf; he cried out as loud as poſſibly he could three times, *O Solon!* Cyrus ſurpriſed, and ſending ſome to inquire, what man or god this Solon was, who was the only perſon he invoked in this extreme diſtreſs? Crœſus told him the whole ſtory, ſaying, *he was one of the wiſeſt men of Greece, whom I ſent for, not to be inſtructed, or to learn any thing that I wanted, but that he ſhould ſee, and be a witneſs of that happineſs, the loſs of which is now a greater evil, than the enjoyment was a good;*

good; for when I had it, the good of it was ſuch only in name and opinion, but now the loſs of it at laſt hath in reality brought upon me grievous troubles and incurable calamities: and that man conjecturing from what was then, what has ſince happened, bade me look to the end of my life, and not rely and grow proud upon uncertainties. When this was told Cyrus, who was a wiſer man than Crœſus, he ſeeing in the preſent example that Solon's words were confirmed, not only freed Crœſus from puniſhment, but honoured him as long as he lived; and Solon had the glory, by the ſame diſcourſe, to ſave one of theſe kings, and inſtruct the other.

Solon was no ſooner gone from Athens but the citizens began to quarrel. Lycurgus headed the inhabitants of the flat country, Megacles the ſon of Alcmæon thoſe that lived towards the ſea, and Piſiſtratus the mountaineers, among whom was a great croud of labouring people, the greateſt enemies to the rich: inſomuch that though the city ſtill uſed their laws, yet all wiſhed for a change, and deſired another form of government, hoping that in the alteration they ſhould have, not an equal, but a larger ſhare, and be entire maſters of the contrary faction. Affairs ſtanding thus, Solon returned, and was reverenced and honoured by all; but to ſpeak and act in public as formerly, he was neither able nor willing by reaſon of his age; however, by privately diſcourſing with the heads of the factions, he endeavoured to reconcile and compoſe the differences. Piſiſtratus eſpecially ſeemed to pay great regard to his advice: for Piſiſtratus had ſomething very courteous and engaging in his diſcourſe; was always ready to aſſiſt the poor *; and in his reſentments

* He had always two or three ſlaves following him with a quantity of ſmall pieces of ſilver, which he employed in comforting the ſick, and burying the poor; and when he obſerved any one to look melancholy, he called him to him, and aſked him the cauſe of it: if it was owing

ments was moderate and tractable: and being very dexterous in putting on a ſemblance of thoſe qualities which he had not by nature, he got more credit, than thoſe who really had them, and was eſteemed a man of great moderation and prudence, remarkably juſt and impartial, and extremely averſe to any alteration in the government. By this means he deceived the people. But Solon preſently found him out, and was the firſt that ſaw to the bottom of his deſigns. However he did not come to an open rupture with him, but endeavoured to ſoften him and adviſe him better, and often told both him and others, that *no one was better formed by nature to be a virtuous man and a good citizen, could he but be cured of his aſpiring thoughts and his deſire of abſolute power.* Theſpis about this time began to exhibit tragedies; and the entertainment, becauſe it was new, took very much with the multitude. (This was before it came to be a prize-contention). Solon, who naturally loved to hear and learn, and now in his old age allowed himſelf more leiſure, and often recreated himſelf with muſic and wine, went to ſee Theſpis himſelf act, as the ancient cuſtom was; and after the play was done, diſcourſing with him, aſked *if he was not aſhamed to tell ſo many lies before ſuch a company?* and Theſpis anſwering, *It is no harm to ſay or do ſo in jeſt*; Solon vehemently ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the ground, replied, *If we encourage and commend ſuch jeſting as this, we ſhall ſoon find it will intrude upon our ſerious affairs.* About this time Piſiſtratus, having wounded himſelf all over his body, was by his own direction conducted in a

owing to his poverty, he furniſhed him upon the ſpot with every thing neceſſary, not to keep him in idleneſs, but to put him in a condition to get his livelihood by his labour. He kept no porters at his gardens, or country-houſes, but all were at liberty to go, and take what they wanted. What Plutarch ſays of the poor, is not to be underſtood of ſuch as aſked alms, for there were none ſuch at Athens. *In thoſe days*, ſaith Iſocrates, *there was no citizen that died of want, or begged in the ſtreets, to the diſhonour of the community.*

chariot

chariot into the market-place, his wounds bleeding freſh; and there he inflamed the minds of the people, pretending that he had been thus dealt with by the treachery of his enemies for his affection to the government. Many ſhowed their reſentment, and exclaimed againſt ſo flagrant an outrage; but Solon, coming cloſe to him, ſaid, *O ſon of Hippocrates, you do not act the part of Homer's Ulyſſes well: for you take the ſame way to beguile your citizens which he took to deceive his enemies, when he wounded himſelf* *. Notwithſtanding this the rabble were ready to fight in defence of Piſiſtratus, and the people flocked to the great aſſembly; where Ariſton making a motion that they ſhould allow Piſiſtratus fifty clubmen for a guard to his perſon, Solon roſe up and oppoſed it, and ſaid many things of the ſame kind with thoſe which he has left us in his poems:

His words you hear with rapture and ſurpriſe;
His deeds unnoted paſs before your eyes.
The fox's craft works in each ſingle mind;
But folly rules the multitude combin'd.

But obſerving that the poorer ſort were ſet upon gratifying Piſiſtratus, and were raiſing a tumult, and that the rich through fear were retiring, he took his leave; ſaying, *he was wiſer than ſome, and braver than others: wiſer than thoſe who did not underſtand the deſign; braver than thoſe, who, though they underſtood it, were afraid to oppoſe the tyranny.* The people having paſſed the law, were not exact with Piſiſtratus about the number of his guards, but ſuffered him to have as many as he would, till at laſt he ſeized the citadel. When that was done, the city was in an uproar,

* We have this tranſaction related at large in the firſt book of Herodotus, who ſays, that Piſiſtratus did not only wound himſelf, but his chariot-mules likewiſe, that he might more eaſily perſuade the people that he had met with this treatment from his enemies as he was going to his country-ſeat, and that it was with the greateſt difficulty in the world he eſcaped out of their hands.

and

and Megacles with all the reſt of the relations of Alcmæon immediately fled. But Solon, though he was very old, and had none to ſecond him, yet came into the market-place, and made a ſpeech to his citizens, ſometimes blaming their ſtupidity and meanneſs of ſpirit, ſometimes paſſionately exhorting them not thus tamely to loſe their liberty. Upon this occaſion he ſpoke that memorable ſaying, *That before, it was an eaſier taſk to have ſtopt the riſing tyranny; but now it was a greater and more glorious action to deſtroy it, when it was begun already, and had gathered ſtrength.* But all being afraid to ſide with him, he returned home; and taking his arms, he brought them out, and laid them in the ſtreet before his door, with theſe words; *To the utmoſt of my power I have defended the laws and liberty of my country*; and after this he concerned himſelf no more in public affairs. His friends adviſing him to leave the country, he refuſed; but he wrote a poem, in which he thus reproached the Athenians:

If now ſelf-puniſh'd indolence muſt ſmart,
Let no reproach of heav'n eſcape the heart.
The guard you gave his fatal power ſupply'd;
This makes you ſlaves, and this ſuſtains his pride.

And when many told him by way of advice that the tyrant would put him to death for this, and aſked to what he truſted that he ventured to ſpeak ſo boldly? he replied, *To my old age.* However, when Piſiſtratus had got all into his power, he ſhowed ſo much reſpect and kindneſs to Solon, that Solon gave him his advice, and approved many of his actions. For he obſerved moſt of Solon's laws himſelf, and compelled his friends to do the ſame. And though he was poſſeſſed of abſolute power, yet being once accuſed of murder before the Areopagus, he came modeſtly to clear himſelf; but his accuſer let fall the indictment. He likewiſe added

other laws, one of which is, that thoſe who had been maimed in the wars ſhould be maintained at the public charge. But Heraclides Ponticus ſays, that Piſiſtratus followed Solon's example in this, who had before determined it in the caſe of one Therſippus who had been maimed. And Theophraſtus aſſerts, that it was Piſiſtratus, not Solon, who made that law againſt idleneſs, which was the reaſon that the country was better cultivated, and the city more free from diſturbance. Solon having begun a great work in verſe, concerning the hiſtory or fable of the Atlantic iſland, which he had learned from the wiſe men in Saïs, and * which particularly concerned the Athenians, preſently grew weary of it; not, as Plato ſays, by reaſon of his multitude of buſineſs, but becauſe of his age, being diſcouraged at the greatneſs of the taſk: for theſe verſes teſtify that he had leiſure enough,

Though aged grown, yet much I daily learn;

And again,

My chief delights, the beſt that mortals know,
From Venus, Bacchus, and the Muſes flow.

But † Plato having a deſire to finiſh and beautify this

* This fable imported, that the people of that iſland having ſubdued all Africa, and a great part of Europe, threatened Egypt and Greece; but the Athenians making head againſt their victorious commanders, overthrew them in ſeveral engagements, and confined them to their own iſland.

† Plato made choice of it becauſe he thought it a ſubject proper to induce the Athenians to be united among themſelves, and to have a taſte of that form of government of which he had given them an idea: for the ten books of his Republic, which, properly ſpeaking, are but one continued dialogue, are only a part of one and the ſame treatiſe, conſiſting of thoſe, and the Timæus, and Atlantic, or Critias. His Republic is deſigned to form or model his citizens; his Timæus deſcribes to them the formation of the world, the knowledge of which is to eſtabliſh in them the principles he had been teaching them; and the Critias, or Atlantic, proves to them from the authority of ancient hiſtory, that ſuch were the manners of their anceſtors, that is, of the firſt

this ſubject of the Atlantic iſland, which was as it were a fair ground-plot in a fine country, not yet occupied, and which belonged to him by right of relation *, begins it with making ſtately entrances, vaſt incloſures, large courts, ſuch as no eſſay, no fable, no fiction ever was adorned with before: but beginning it late, he ended his life before his work; and ſo the reader's trouble for the unfiniſhed part is the greater, as the ſatisfaction he takes in that which is complete is extraordinary: for as the city of Athens left only the temple of Jupiter Olympius unfiniſhed †, ſo Plato, amongſt all his excellent works, left this only piece about the Atlantic iſland imperfect. Solon lived a long time after Piſiſtratus ſeized the government, as Heraclides Ponticus aſſerts; but Phanias the Ereſian ſays, not full two years: for Piſiſtratus began his tyranny when Comias was archon; and Phanias ſays, Solon died under Hegeſtratus, who ſucceeded Comias. The ſtory of his body being burnt ‡, and his aſhes ſcattered all round the iſland Salamin, is quite abſurd and fabulous; and yet it is related by many conſiderable men, and by Ariſtotle in particular.

firſt Athenians who lived before the deluge of Deucalion, by which means they were enabled to perform ſuch glorious exploits.

* For Plato's mother was a deſcendent from a brother of Solon.

† I think no one ever received a more handſome and conſummate encomium than what is here given Plato by Plutarch, who compares his writings to thoſe temples at Athens, which are called by a Greek poet *the ſecret habitation of the gods*, and particularly comparing his Critias, which he did not live to finiſh, to the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, which was left likewiſe unfiniſhed by the Athenians by reaſon of their domeſtic tumults and ſeditions.

‡ It is ſaid by Diogenes Laertius that this was done by his own order.

THE LIFE OF P. VAL. POPLICOLA.

THis being the character of Solon, with him we now proceed to compare Poplicola, ſo called by the Roman people out of reſpect to his merit; for his paternal name was *Valerius*. * He deſcended from that Valerius who was the principal author of the union between the Romans and Sabins; for he it was that chiefly perſuaded the two kings to a conference, and ſo reconciled them.

From this man our Valerius, as they ſay, deriving his extraction, was, even while Rome was yet under kingly government, very eminent both for his eloquence and riches †; the firſt of which he employed with great integrity and freedom in defence of juſtice; and the other in ſupplying the neceſſities of ſuch as were in want, with great liberality and kindneſs; from whence it was eaſy to foreſee, that ſhould the government become republican, he would ſoon be a chief perſon in the community. Tarquinius Superbus having rendered himſelf hateful and inſupportable to the people, (for he had neither honourably acquired the government at firſt, but againſt all the rules both of religion and juſtice,

* He was deſcended from that Voleſus Valerius who was one of the three moſt conſiderable Sabins that followed Tatius to Rome.

† This circumſtance is very remarkable; for Tarquin had degraded all the noble houſes in Rome, and plundered the rich.

nor

nor had exerciſed his power like a legal king, but with the greateſt inſolence and tyranny), they took occaſion to revolt, from the unhappy fate of Lucretia, who killed herſelf becauſe of the rape committed upon her by the ſon of Tarquin: and Lucius Brutus, who was very active in bringing about a change of government, * came firſt to Valerius, and finding him very ready to engage, with his aſſiſtance expelled the king and his party. And whilſt it was thought that the people would be inclined to chuſe a ſingle perſon for their general, inſtead of the king, Valerius acquieſced, becauſe the right to command rather belonged to Brutus, who had been the leader in bringing on the democracy. But the very name of monarchy appearing to be offenſive, and the people ſeeming more deſirous of a divided power, and therefore propoſing and demanding two, Valerius was in hopes that with Brutus he might be elected conſul, but was diſappointed; for inſtead of Valerius, much againſt Brutus's mind, † Collatinus, the huſband of Lucretia, was choſen his colleague; a man no way ſuperior to Valerius in virtue. But ſuch as had the greateſt ſway dreading the king's party, who ſtill uſed all endeavours abroad and ſolicitations at home to ſoften the people, were reſolved to have ſuch a commander as bore an intenſe hatred to them, and was leaſt likely ever to be reconciled to their intereſt.

Valerius taking it much to heart, that he ſhould not be thought zealous enough to do his utmoſt for the ſervice of his country, only becauſe he had ſuffered no private injury from the inſolence of the

* Dionyſius and Livy tell us, that Lucretia ſent for them and her father, and killed herſelf in their preſence, and that then it was reſolved to expel the regal family.

† Lucius Tarquinius the ſon of Egerius, and nephew of Tarquinius Priſcus. He was called *Collatinus* from *Collatia*, of which he was governor. Tarquinius Superbus, and Egerius the father of Collatinus, were firſt couſins.

tyrants, abſented himſelf from the ſenate, withdrew from the practice of the bar, and quitted all public concerns. This gave the people great concern, who were afraid leſt he ſhould out of reſentment join himſelf to the king's party, and overturn the conſtitution of the city, which was yet but in a tottering condition. But when Brutus, who was jealous of ſome others *, determined to adminiſter an oath to the ſenate upon the ſacrifice at the altar; on the day appointed Valerius came with great cheerfulneſs into the Forum, and was the firſt man that took an oath never to give way in the leaſt, or ſubmit to Tarquin, but by force of arms to maintain their liberty. This gave great ſatisfaction to the ſenate, and aſſurance to the conſuls; and his actions ſoon after confirmed the ſincerity of his oath. For ambaſſadors came from Tarquin, with flattering letters to the people, and with artful and ſoothing ſpeeches which they had prepared to corrupt and ſeduce the populace, intimating, as from the king himſelf, that he had quitted his high and inſolent deſigns, and deſired nothing but what was reaſonable and juſt. And when the conſuls were of opinion that theſe men ſhould have an audience in public, Valerius would not ſuffer it, but was very earneſt to prevent any occaſion or pretence of raiſing new diſturbances among the poorer ſort, and ſuch as were more averſe to war than tyranny. Afterwards other ambaſſadors arrived, † who declared that Tarquin would reſign his crown, and lay down his arms, only ſtipulating for a reſtitution to himſelf, to his friends and relations, of their

* Not only among the people, but even ſome of the nobility, of whom there were many, whoſe uneaſineſs under their preſent circumſtances, and hopes of better, made them deſire to live rather under a tyrant than in a popular ſtate.

† Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays they were the ſame with the forementioned, and that failing in their firſt demand, they contented themſelves with the ſecond, on purpoſe to gain time.

monies

monies and eſtates, to ſupport themſelves in their baniſhment. Several inclining to this motion, and Collatinus in particular pleading for it, Brutus, who was of an inflexible temper, and keen in his reſentment, * ruſhed into the Forum, there proclaiming his fellow-conſul to be a traitor, in that he was ſo ready to grant a ſupply both for war and tyranny to thoſe to whom it would be very unreaſonable to allow even means of ſubſiſtence in their baniſhment. The citizens being aſſembled on this occaſion, the firſt that ſpoke was Caius Minutius, a private man, who adviſed Brutus, and perſuaded the Romans, to take care that thoſe goods ſhould be kept in their own hands, to be employed againſt the tyrants, rather than put into the tyrants hands, to be turned againſt them. However, it was the opinion of the Romans, that ſince they enjoyed the liberty they had fought for, they ſhould not reject articles of peace for the ſake of the goods, but throw them out after the tyrants. But the recovering the goods was the leaſt part of Tarquin's deſign; the demand gave him an opportunity of

* Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, on the contrary, that this affair was debated in the ſenate with a great deal of moderation on each ſide. Brutus was of opinion that the tyrants effects ought to be retained, as forfeited to the public, and that they were not obliged to allow him wherewithal to raiſe and maintain an army, and carry on a war againſt the Romans, which might end in a ſecond ſervitude and oppreſſion. Collatinus was of the contrary opinion; he ſaid their quarrel was with the tyrants, and that they had nothing to do with their wealth; that it was enough that they were expelled, and that the Romans ought to take care not to give the world reaſon to think that they had baniſhed them on purpoſe to get poſſeſſion of their eſtates; or furniſh them with a juſt, or at leaſt plauſible pretence for declaring war againſt them. This diſpute took up the ſenate ſeveral days: Brutus's advice was thought the moſt profitable, but that of Collatinus the moſt honourable; and the deciſion was at laſt left to the people, with whom it was carried for the moſt honourable, by the majority of one vote only. A remarkable thing this, and worthy to be remembered: in a popular aſſembly, and in an affair of the greateſt importance, that which was juſt was preferred to that which was profitable, even after the wiſdom of ſo auguſt a ſenate was at a loſs on which ſide to incline.

ſounding the diſpoſition of the people, and of forming a conſpiracy in his favour; and this was the employment of the ambaſſadors, while they delayed their return, under pretence of ſelling ſome of the goods, keeping others ſafe, and ordering the reſt to be ſent away; and at laſt they corrupted two of the moſt eminent families in Rome, that of the Aquilians, which had three ſenators in it, and that of the Vitellians, which had two. All theſe, by the mother's ſide were nephews to Collatinus the conſul: and beſides, the Vitellians were likewiſe particularly allied to Brutus; for he married their ſiſter, by whom he had ſeveral children *; two of whom, who were juſt come to age, the Vitellians drew in, as being their relations and companions, and prevailed upon them to become partners in their treaſon, repreſenting to them, that by this means they might probably be allied to the royal family, might riſe to the higheſt honours, and at the ſame time be freed from the ſtupidity and cruelty of their father. His inflexible ſeverity towards offenders they termed cruelty; and as to his ſtupidity, it was what himſelf had long pretended to, and uſed as a cloak † for his ſecurity againſt the tyrants: and he did not refuſe to take his ſurname, Brutus, from thence ever after. When upon theſe inducements the youths came to diſcourſe with the Aquilians, they all agreed to bind themſelves by a ſolemn and dreadful oath, with the ceremony of killing a man ‡, and taſting his blood, and touching his entrails.

* Dionyſius and Livy make mention of no more than two; but Plutarch ſides with thoſe who ſay that Brutus had more, and that he who killed Cæſar in the Capitol was deſcended from one of them. See the life of Brutus.

† For Tarquin had put his father and brother to death.

‡ This they did, not from a principle of religion, or becauſe they thought ſuch a ceremony had a virtue in it; but they meant to unite themſelves more firmly by the enormity of the crime, and be put under the neceſſity of being true to each other from the deſpair of a pardon. Catiline did the ſame thing. We find not either in Dionyſius or Livy any mention of this horrible ſacrifice.

For

For this purpoſe they met at the houſe of the Aquilians. A dark and unfrequented apartment was choſen as moſt ſuitable for the performance of this horrid ceremony; and therefore they were not aware of a ſlave named *Vindicius*, who had hid himſelf within it, not with any deſign, or from any ſuſpicion of what was to follow; but being accidentally there, and ſeeing with how much haſte and concern they came in, he ſtopt ſhort out of fear of being diſcovered, and placed himſelf behind a cheſt, ſo that he could obſerve their actions, and overhear their debates. The reſult was to kill the conſuls; and they wrote letters to Tarquin, acquainting him with their intention, and delivered them to the ambaſſadors, who lodged at that houſe as the gueſts of the Aquilians, and were preſent at the treaſonable conſultation.

When they had done all this, and were departed, Vindicius came out privately. He was much at a loſs how to behave in this affair; for he thought it ſhocking, as indeed it was, to accuſe the ſons for ſo execrable a villany to Brutus their father, or the nephews to Collatinus their uncle; and he judged that no private Roman was fit to be truſted with ſecrets of ſuch importance. But, on the other hand, he could do any thing rather than conceal his knowledge of ſo atrocious a conſpiracy. He therefore applied himſelf in all haſte to Valerius, being induced to this chiefly by the known generoſity and kindneſs of the man, who was a perſon to whom the poor had eaſy acceſs, and who never ſhut his gates againſt them, or rejected the petitions even of the meaneſt of the people. But when Vindicius came and made a full diſcovery to him, his brother Marcus and his own wife being preſent at the relation, Valerius was ſtruck with amazement; and by no means would diſmiſs the diſcoverer, but confined him in a chamber, and placed his wife as a guard at the door, ſending his brother in the interim to beſet

beſet the king's palace, and to ſeize, if poſſible, the letters, and ſecure the domeſtics; whilſt he, with his conſtant attendance of clients and friends, and a great retinue of ſervants, repaired to the houſe of the Aquilians, who were abſent from home; and therefore, before any one could ſo much as ſuſpect his deſign, he forced his entrance through the gates, and found the letters then lying in the lodgings of the ambaſſadors. In the mean time, the Aquilians made an haſty return, and muſtering themſelves about the gate, endeavoured a recovery of the letters. But Valerius and his party made a reſiſtance, and caſting their gowns about their necks, after much ſtruggling on both ſides, at length hurried them with great difficulty through the ſtreets into the forum. The like engagement happened about the king's palace, where Marcus ſeized ſome other letters, deſigned to be conveyed away with the goods, and laying hands on what ſervants he could find, dragged them alſo into the forum. When the conſuls had quieted the tumult, Vindicius was brought out by the order of Valerius, and the accuſation being formed, the letters were read, to which the traitors had not the confidence to make any reply. Moſt of the people ſtood mute and dejected, but ſome to ingratiate themſelves with Brutus, mentioned baniſhment; and the tears of Collatinus, and the ſilence of Valerius, gave ſome hopes of mercy. But Brutus calling each of his ſons by their names, *Come*, ſays he, *Titus, and you, Valerius* *, *why do you not anſwer to this accuſation?* The queſtion being thrice propoſed, and no reply made to Brutus, he turned himſelf to the lictors, and ſaid, *What remains is your duty.* The lictors preſently ſeized the youths, and ſtripping them of their garments, bound their hands behind them,

* There is probably an error in the copy here; the name of Brutus's ſecond ſon was *Tiberius*.

and

and tore their bodies with ſcourges: and though others could not bear to look upon ſo tragical a ſcene, yet it is ſaid that Brutus himſelf never once turned away his eyes, nor ſuffered the leaſt glance of pity to ſoften and ſmooth his wonted rigour and auſterity *, but reſolutely beheld the execution of the two youths, even till the lictors, extending them on the ground, with an axe cut off their heads; then he departed, committing the reſt to the judgment of his colleague. This was an action of ſo extraordinary a nature, that either it cannot be ſufficiently commended, or ſufficiently diſpraiſed: for either the greatneſs of his virtue raiſed his mind above the impreſſions of ſorrow, or elſe he was rendered inſenſible by the exceſs of his grief; but in neither caſe could the diſpoſition be of an ordinary kind, or ſuch as is common to human nature, but muſt be deemed either *divine or brutal* †. However it is more reaſonable that our judgment in this caſe ſhould be determined by the great reputation of the

* Livy repreſents this circumſtance differently; he tells us *that there could not be a more ſtriking ſpectacle than the countenance of Brutus during this whole ſcene, the tenderneſs and anguiſh of the father appearing through all the ſternneſs of the magiſtrate.*

† This remark ſeems not to be juſt. Had Plutarch ſuppoſed that this behaviour might be aſcribed merely to the want of natural affection, it might well be called *brutal*; but he makes no ſuch ſuppoſition. To be ſtunned by the violence of ſorrow, ſo that all ſenſe of the pain ſhall be for a time ſuſpended, belongs to the human nature alone; it may perhaps be termed *unphiloſophical*, but ſurely not *brutal*. Plutarch, however, gives it as his opinion, that this action proceeded not from inſenſibility, but from virtue. And indeed though it is not to be expected from ordinary men, that, in ſuch an inſtance as this, their tendereſt private affections ſhould give way to their love of juſtice and of their country; yet of Brutus it is not at all incredible. He who with ſuch ſuperior talents and ſo noble a mind could condeſcend to be thought weak and fooliſh, who for ſo many years could patiently endure the contempt even of thoſe whom he muſt have hated and deſpiſed, without ever giving any ſuſpicion of his diſguiſe till the proper time arrived for executing his great deſigns, muſt be allowed to have ſurpaſſed all men in firmneſs and magnanimity, and to have been capable of making any ſacrifice to virtue and the public good.

man,

man, than that his virtue ſhould be queſtioned upon account of the weakneſs of ſuch as pretend to paſs ſentence upon it. For in the general opinion of the Romans it was not ſo great and glorious an undertaking in Romulus to found the city, as it was in Brutus to frame and ſettle the commonwealth.

Upon Brutus's departure out of the forum, conſternation, horror, and ſilence for ſome time poſſeſſed all the aſſembly. But the eaſineſs and forbearance of Collatinus gave confidence to the Aquilians, to requeſt that ſome time might be allowed them to anſwer the charge, and that Vindicius their ſervant ſhould be delivered into their hands, and no longer harboured amongſt their accuſers. When the conſul ſeemed willing to yield to their motion, and thereupon was juſt going to diſſolve the aſſembly; Valerius would neither deliver up Vindicius, who ſtood in the midſt of the croud, nor ſuffer the people to withdraw, ſo as to let the traitors eſcape; but at length laid violent hands upon the Aquilii, and calling Brutus to his aſſiſtance, exclaimed againſt the unreaſonable proceedings of Collatinus, who impoſed upon his colleague the neceſſity of taking away the lives of his own ſons, and yet was deſirous of gratifying ſome women with the lives of traitors and enemies to their country. Collatinus highly reſenting this, and commanding Vindicius to be apprehended, the lictors diſperſed the croud, ſeized the man, and beat off all who endeavoured to reſcue him. But Valerius's friends withſtood the ſeizure, and the people cried out for Brutus; who returning immediately, after ſilence made, told them, that *as to his own ſons, himſelf was ſufficient to paſs judgment upon them, but as to the others, he left them to the citizens, who were now at liberty; and therefore*, ſays he, *let every man ſpeak his opinion, and gain the people over by perſuaſion.* But there was no need of oratory; for it being referred to the vote, they

they were condemned by all the ſuffrages, and were accordingly beheaded.

Collatinus, it ſeems, was ſomewhat ſuſpected before, by reaſon of his near relation to the royal family; and beſides, one of his names gave ſome diſguſt to the people, who abominated the name of *Tarquin*. But on this occaſion, perceiving that he had given offence to every one, he reſigned his charge, and left the city. The people being aſſembled to chuſe a ſucceſſor, Valerius honourably obtained the conſulſhip, as a juſt reward of his zeal for the public. As he thought that Vindicius deſerved a ſhare of the recompenſe, he gave him the freedom of the city, and the privilege of voting in whatever tribe he was pleaſed to be inrolled: an honour which had never before been conferred upon a ſlave. This liberty of voting, Appius a long time after, out of a popular deſign, granted to other freed men; and from this Vindicius, a perfect manumiſſion is called to this day *vindicta*. This done, the goods of the king and his family were given to be plundered by the people, and the palace was levelled with the ground: the pleaſanteſt part of the Campus Martius had been poſſeſſed by Tarquin; this they devoted to the ſervice of Mars*. The corn upon it happened to be then juſt reaped, and the ſheaves yet remaining on the ground, they thought it not lawful to threſh them, or make any uſe of them, becauſe they were conſecrated; but all with one conſent fell to work, and carried the ſhocks to the river; then cutting down the trees, they threw them in alſo, leaving the ſoil (entirely bare and clear from any thing growing upon it) to the deity. Now, theſe being thrown in, in great quantities, one upon another, the ſtream could not cary them far, but only to that ſhallow place where

* It had been conſecrated to him in the days of Romulus, as is evident from the laws. Tarquin had ſacrilegiouſly ſeized upon it, and converted it to his own uſe, by ſowing it with corn.

what was firſt thrown in ſunk, and ſtuck to the bottom. And thus finding no further paſſage, every thing was there ſtopped and interwoven together, and the ſtream worked the maſs into a firmneſs by waſhing down mud, which ſettling there, became an acceſſion of matter as well as cement to the rubbiſh; inſomuch that the force of the current could not remove it, but rather by its gentle preſſure cloſed and ſtrengthened it. By reaſon of its bulk and ſolidity it was capable of growing ſtill bigger, and of retaining the greateſt part of what the ſtream brought down. This is the place now called the *holy iſland*; ſeveral temples have been ſince built upon it, with ſpacious porticoes, and it is called in the Latin tongue *Inter duos pontes* [between the two bridges] *. Though ſome ſay, this happened not at the dedication of Tarquin's field, but in after-times, when Tarquinia, a Veſtal, gave another adjacent field to the public, and for that obtained great honours, and this amongſt the reſt, that of all women ſhe alone ſhould be allowed to give her teſtimony in court; but when they alſo decreed her the liberty to marry, ſhe refuſed it. This is the account which ſome give of the matter.

Tarquin, deſpairing of a return to his kingdom by conſpiracy, found a kind reception amongſt the Tuſcans, who with a great army attended him into the field. The conſuls headed the Romans againſt them; and the armies were drawn up in two conſecrated places, the one called the *Arſian* grove, the other the *Æſuvian* meadow. When they came to charge, Aruns the ſon of Tarquin, and Brutus the Roman conſul encountering each other, not by chance, but out of rage and hatred, (the one againſt a tyrant and enemy to his country, the other to be

* It was ſo called, without doubt, becauſe the Fabrician bridge joined it to the city on the ſide of the capitol, and it was joined to it by the Ceſtian bridge on the ſide of the Janiculine gate.

revenged

revenged for his baniſhment), ſet ſpurs to their horſes, and engaging with an inconſiderate fury, each neglected his own ſecurity, and ſo both fell together in the combat. The reſt of the battle was as furious and bloody as this firſt onſet; the ſlaughter was equal on both ſides; and at length the armies were ſeparated by a ſtorm. Valerius was much concerned, not knowing the ſucceſs of the day; and found his men as much diſmayed at the ſight of their own dead, as animated by the loſs of the enemy; for ſo great was the number of the ſlain, that it could not be diſtinguiſhed on which ſide moſt had fallen; and each army upon a near view of their own loſs were more inclined to judge themſelves defeated, than by their uncertain gueſſes at the enemies loſs to think they had gained the victory; but when night came on, (and ſuch a night as one may preſume muſt follow ſuch a battle), and the armies were laid to reſt, it is ſaid, that the grove ſhook, and a loud voice was heard, ſaying, that the Tuſcans had loſt one man more than the Romans *. This voice, doubtleſs, was preternatural, and the Romans preſently entertained it with ſhouts and expreſſions of joy: whilſt the Tuſcans, through fear and amazement, deſerted their tents, and were moſt of them diſperſed. The Romans falling upon the remainder, which amounted to near 5000, took them priſoners, and plundered the camp. When they numbered the dead, they found on the Tuſcans ſide 11,300, and on the Romans ſide as many, excepting only one man. This fight happened upon the laſt day of February, and Valerius triumphed upon the conqueſt, being the firſt conſul that made his entry in a chariot with four horſes. This ſpectacle was very magnificent; nor did it, as ſome ſuggeſt, move

* It was ſaid to be the voice of the god Pan; but without doubt it was an artifice made uſe of by Valerius, who thought it the only means of reviving the drooping ſpirits of his ſoldiers.

any envy or indignation in the ſpectators, for then it would not have continued to be a matter of emulation or ambition ſo many ages after. The people applauded likewiſe the honours he paid to his deceaſed colleague at his funeral; he on this occaſion pronounced an oration in his praiſe, which ſo pleaſed the Romans, and found ſo good a reception, that from thence it became cuſtomary for the moſt conſiderable perſons to celebrate the funerals of great and good men with ſpeeches in their commendation. This oration of his is ſaid to be older than any funeral orations among the Greeks *; unleſs, according to the orator Anaximenes's account, we acknowledge Solon to have been author of the cuſtom.

But that part of Valerius's behaviour which gave offence to the people, was this. Brutus, whom they eſteemed as the father of their liberty, had not preſumed to lord it without a colleague, but firſt aſſumed one and then another as partner with him in the government; *whereas Valerius*, ſaid they, *drawing all into his own power, becomes a ſucceſſor not only to Brutus's conſulate, to which he has no right, but to Tarquin's tyranny. To what purpoſe is it*, ſay they, *in words to extol Brutus, when in his actions he imitates Tarquin, coming out ſingle with all the rods and axes to attend him, and from an houſe more ſtately than the king's palace which he demoliſhed.* And the truth is, Valerius

* For funeral orations were not in uſe among the Grecians till the battle of Marathon, which happened ſixteen years after the death of Brutus. Before that time they ſolemniſed the funerals of their great men with public games and combats. What the poets in their tragedies ſay of Theſeus, that he made a ſpeech in praiſe of the ſons of Oedipus at their interment, is ſaid in pure flattery to the Athenians. The honour of this invention is due to the Romans, who have likewiſe this advantage over the Grecians, that they obſerved more equity and juſtice on thoſe occaſions than the Grecians did, who allowed this honour only to ſuch as fell in fighting for their country; whereas the Romans conferred it indifferently on all great men, in what capacity ſoever they had been ſerviceable to the public, judging very rightly that all virtues deſerve this reward.

dwelt

dwelt in a very grand houſe on the top of Velia, and ſo commanded the forum, looking down from an eminence upon all below; the approach to it was difficult from without; ſo that when he came down with his train, it made a very pompous appearance, like the ſtate of a king. But Valerius ſhowed how much it imported men in power and great offices to have their ears open to freedom of ſpeech, and to liſten to truth rather than flattery: for hearing from his friends that he was cenſured by the people, he neither diſputed nor reſented the matter, but immediately over night got together a great number of workmen, and pulled down his houſe to the ground; ſo that in the morning, when the people flocked thither to ſee the ruins, they loved and admired the generoſity of the man, but were grieved for the houſe, as they would have been for a man put to death in a heat, without the forms of a legal proceſs, and regretted the loſs of ſo large and beautiful a fabric, undeſervedly demoliſhed to ſatisfy the envy and malice of others. They were concerned likewiſe for their chief magiſtrate, as for one that was now without a houſe of his own, and forced to take up his habitation with others. For Valerius was entertained by his friends, till the people gave him a piece of ground, and an houſe was built upon it leſs ſtately than the former, in the place where now ſtands the temple of Victory.

And now reſolving that the government, as well as himſelf, inſtead of being terrible, ſhould become eaſy and grateful to the populace, he parted the axes from the rods *, which always upon his entrance into the aſſembly, in a reſpectful manner, he veiled to the people, thus ſeeming to acknowledge the ſupreme power to belong to them; and this the conſuls obſerve to this day. But the people were

* He ordained that for the future the conſuls ſhould only have the rods borne before them in the city, and the axes when they were in the field.

not aware that this was done, not to leſſen his own authority, as they imagined, but to keep down and abate their envy by this moderation; and that he by this means gained as much of real power as he loſt of the appearance of it: for the people ſubmitted to him in every thing with pleaſure; and ſo agreeable was his behaviour to them, that they gave him the name of *Poplicola*, which ſignifies *one who courts the people*; and in this name all his former names were loſt; this therefore we ſhall uſe in relating the ſequel of his life.

He gave free leave to any to ſue for the conſulſhip during the vacancy *; but before the election miſtruſting futurity, and fearing leſt he ſhould meet with oppoſition from the emulation or ignorance of his colleague, while he had the ſole power, he employed it in effecting ſeveral excellent and uſeful deſigns. Firſt, he ſupplied the vacancies in the ſenate, which was now very much diminiſhed, many of the ſenators having been put to death by Tarquin, and many ſlain in the late battle. Thoſe who were regiſtered, it is ſaid, amounted to one hundred and ſixty-four. Afterwards he made ſeveral laws, which added much to the people's power; one, granting offenders the liberty of appealing to the people from the judgment of the conſuls; a ſecond, that made it death for any one to accept the magiſtracy without the people's conſent; a third for the relief of poor citizens, which taking off their taxes encouraged them to labour; another againſt diſobedience to the con-

* I know not where Plutarch met with this particular. Poplicola might allow of this liberty juſt at that time, to pleaſe the people; but it is certain it had no effect. The Patricians only were qualified for the conſulate, into which dignity no Plebeian was admitted for a long time. Lucius Sextius was the firſt among them that was advanced to that honour, 145 years after the occurrences of which Plutarch is ſpeaking in this place; nor did that hold for above eleven years, for in the twelfth year both conſuls were again choſen from among the Patricians.

ſuls,

ſuls, which was no leſs popular than the reſt, and rather to the advantage of the commonalty, than of the nobles; for it impoſed upon the offender the penalty of five oxen and two ſheep; the price of a ſheep being ten oboli, of an ox an hundred. For money was then ſcarce amongſt the Romans, their wealth conſiſting in a plenty of cattle; ſo that even to this time eſtates are called *peculia*, from *pecus*, i. e. *cattle*; and they had upon their ancient money engraved an ox, a ſheep, or an hog; and hence alſo they ſurnamed their ſons *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*, from the names of the different kinds of cattle. Though theſe laws were ſo equitable and popular, yet amidſt this moderation he inſtituted one exceſſive puniſhment; for he made it lawful without accuſation to take away any man's life that aſpired to tyranny, and acquitted the murderer, if he produced evidences of the crime. For though it was not poſſible that one who had ſuch great deſigns ſhould eſcape all notice, yet it was poſſible, that, though ſuſpected, he might accompliſh his ambitious views before he could be brought to a trial, and his uſurped power would then protect him from puniſhment; therefore this law allowed any one to puniſh him before the crime was legally proved. He was honoured likewiſe for the law concerning the treaſury: for as the citizens were obliged to contribute out of their eſtates to the wars, he determined that neither himſelf, nor any of his friends ſhould be employed in the diſpoſal of the public money, nor would he permit it ever to fall into any private hands; he therefore allotted the temple of Saturn for the treaſury, in which to this day they repoſit the tribute-money, and granted the people the liberty of chuſing two young men as queſtors, *i. e.* treaſurers. The firſt were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minutius; and a great ſum was collected; for they aſſeſſed one hundred and thirty thouſand perſons, excuſing orphans and widows from the

the payment. After he had made theſe regulations, he admitted Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, as his colleague, and gave him the precedence in the government, by reſigning up the *faſces*, or rods, to him, as due to his years; which mark of reſpect to age was ever after continued. But within a few days Lucretius died, and Marcus Horatius ſucceeded in that honour for the remaining part of the year.

Whilſt Tarquin was making preparations in Tuſcany for a ſecond war againſt the Romans, it is ſaid a portentous accident happened. During the time that he was upon the throne, having almoſt finiſhed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and deſigning (whether it was his own thought, or the direction of ſome oracle) to place an earthen chariot on the top, he employed ſome Tuſcan artificers of Veii to make it, but ſoon after was expelled from his kingdom. The work when modelled was ſet in a furnace; but the clay ſhowed not thoſe qualities which uſually attend its nature, to ſubſide and be condenſed upon the exhalation of the moiſture, but roſe up and ſwelled to ſuch a bulk, that being conſolidated and firm, notwithſtanding the removal of the head, and breaking down the walls of the furnace, it could not be taken out without much difficulty. The diviners looked upon this as a prognoſtic of ſucceſs and power to thoſe who ſhould have it in their poſſeſſion: the Veientes therefore reſolved not to deliver it to the Romans, who demanded it; but anſwered, that it rather belonged to Tarquin, than to thoſe who forced him into exile. A few days after, whilſt they were celebrating the races at Veii, with the uſual ſhows and ſolemnities, the charioteer who had gained the prize, having the crown on his head, and ſoftly driving his victorious chariot out of the ring, the horſes, without any apparent cauſe, ſtarted on a ſudden, and either by a divine inſtigation, or mere accident, hurried

hurried away their driver full ſpeed to Rome; he tried in vain to ſtop them, by pulling the reins, and ſpeaking gently to them; they continued to run on furiouſly, till coming near the capitol, they overturned the chariot by the gate called *Ratumena* *. This occurrence ſo ſurpriſed and terrified the Veientes, that they immediately permitted the chariot to be delivered up.

Tarquin, the ſon of Demaratus, when he was at war with the Sabins, had made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, and this was the temple which Tarquin the Proud, the ſon or grandſon of him that had made this vow, began, but could not dedicate, becauſe he loſt his kingdom before it was finiſhed. When it was completed and furniſhed with all its ornaments †, Poplicola had a great ambition to dedicate it. But many of the nobility, though they envied not the honours due to his great ſervices in peace and war, yet could not bear that he ſhould uſurp that, which, they ſaid, belonged to another: therefore they importuned Horatius to ſue for the dedication; and whilſt Poplicola was abſent, being obliged to lead the army into the field, they voted it to Horatius, and accordingly conducted him to the capitol, well knowing, that were Poplicola preſent, they ſhould not have prevailed. Yet ſome write, that Poplicola was by lot deſtined againſt his will to the army, and Horatius to the dedication. But it is eaſy to judge of what paſſed between them on this affair, from what happened on the day of the dedication ‡: for upon the

* It was ſo called from this accident, for the driver's name was *Ratumenas*.

† Which was not till Poplicola's third conſulſhip. This temple was 200 feet long, and 185 or ſomething more deep. The front was adorned with three rows of columns, and the ſides with two. In the nave were three cells, or chapels, one of Jupiter, another of Juno, and the third of Minerva.

‡ Plutarch means, that it is plain from what happened at the dedication that the conſuls had not been deſtined by lot, one to the war, and

the thirteenth of September, which happens about the full moon of the month *Metagitnion*, the people flocking to the capitol, and ſilence being injoined, Horatius, after the performance of other ceremonies, holding the doors, according to cuſtom, pronounced the words of dedication; then Marcus, brother of Poplicola, who had ſtood for ſome time at the door, obſerving his opportunity, cried, *O Conſul, thy ſon lies dead in the camp.* This made a great impreſſion upon the auditory, yet did not at all diſcompoſe Horatius, who only replied, *Then caſt the dead out whither you pleaſe, for I ſhall not admit of ſorrow*; and ſo went on with the dedication. This news was not true, but Marcus thought the lie might divert him from proceeding in the ceremony. Horatius appears by this inſtance to have been a man of admirable conſtancy, whether he preſently ſaw through the cheat, or believed it to be true, without ſhowing any emotion. The ſame ſucceſs attended the dedication of the ſecond temple. The firſt, which was built by Tarquin, and dedicated by Horatius, was burnt in the civil wars *. The ſecond Sylla built it †, and dying before the dedication, that honour was given to Catulus; but when this was demoliſhed in the Vitellian ſedition, Veſpaſian (whoſe good fortune likewiſe attended him in this)

and the other to the dedication; for ſuch a deciſion would have been looked upon as a mark of the will of the gods; and Poplicola's brother would not have preſumed to interrupt Horatius in the ſolemnity, nor would the people have ſuffered it, if he had been ſo minded. Plutarch here manifeſtly contradicts Livy.

* In the wars between Sylla and Marius. It was conſecrated in the third year of the 68th Olympiad, 504 years before the birth of our Saviour, and was deſtroyed the ſecond year of the 174th Olympiad, eighty-one years before the incarnation, ſo that its continuance was no more than 423 years.

† Sylla built and adorned it with columns of marble which he had taken out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and tranſported to Rome. Catulus conſecrated it ſixty-ſeven years before the birth of Chriſt, and fourteen after the deſtruction of the former. Sylla was heard to ſay, as he was dying, that he had been unfortunate in nothing but in not having been able to dedicate that temple.

began

began a third, and ſaw it finiſhed, but lived not to ſee the ruin of it, which happened ſoon after. He was more fortunate than Sylla; for Sylla died before the dedication of his work, Veſpaſian before the deſtruction of it; for no ſooner was Veſpaſian dead, but the capitol was burnt. A fourth was built and dedicated by Domitian. It is ſaid, Tarquin expended forty thouſand pound of ſilver in the very foundations; but the greateſt treaſure of any private man in Rome would not pay for the gilding of this temple in our days, it amounting to above twelve thouſand talents *. The pillars are of Pentelic marble †, and finely proportioned, and theſe we ſaw at Athens; but when they were cut anew at Rome, and embelliſhed, they gained not ſo much in beauty as they loſt in proportion, being rendered too ſlender. But if any one, after admiring the magnificence of the capitol, ſhould ſurvey a gallery, a hall, or bath in Domitian's palace, or the apartments of his concubines; what Epicharmus wrote of a profuſe man,

* If what Plutarch ſays here be true, there was no private man in Rome ſo wealthy in the days of Trajan as there were in the times of the commonwealth, and under the other emperors. We read in hiſtory of Æmilius Scaurus, who in his ædileſhip erected a theatre for an entertainment of but a few days continuance, in which were 360 pillars, ſome of marble, ſome of braſs, and others of cryſtal; 3000 ſtatues filled up the ſpaces between thoſe pillars; and the whole ſtage was hung with the richeſt tapeſtry, and that almoſt all covered with pictures very rare and valuable. When the entertainment was over, Scaurus, who ſcorned to have any thing ſeen in his houſe at Rome that had been made uſe of on that occaſion, ſent all to his country-ſeat at Tuſculum, which was ſet on fire by his ſlaves, whereby goods to the value of 500,000 pounds were conſumed, and yet they were but a part of that pompous furniture that had not been a month in uſe. Every one has heard of the wealth of M. Craſſus, who had an eſtate in land of above a million a-year. L. Cornelius Balbus left by will to every Roman citizen twenty-five denarii, amounting to about ſixteen ſhillings of our money; and it is well known that many private men among the Romans maintained from ten to twenty thouſand ſlaves, not for ſervice but oſtentation.

† Pentele was a borough of Attica, near which were quarries of marble.

By

By laviſh'd wealth, to virtue ne'er pretend;
Thy bounty's a diſeaſe, an itch to ſpend;

he might readily apply to Domitian, *Pretend not to be pious or noble, thou haſt only an itch of building, and a deſire, like Midas, of converting all into gold and precious ſtones.* And ſo much for this ſubject.

Tarquin, after the great battle wherein he loſt his ſon, who was killed in ſingle combat by Brutus, fled to Cluſium, and ſought aid from Laras Porſenna *, then the moſt powerful prince of Italy, and a man of great worth and honour, who aſſured him of his aſſiſtance, and immediately ſent ambaſſadors to the Romans, requiring them to receive Tarquin as their king. Upon their refuſal he proclaimed war, and having ſignified the time and place where he intended his aſſault, approached with a great army. Poplicola in his abſence was choſen conſul a ſecond time †, and Titus Lucretius his colleague; but returning to Rome, and deſiring to be thought more brave than Porſenna, he built the city Sigliuria ‡ while Porſenna lay encamped in the neighbourhood of it, and walling it at a great expenſe, placed there a colony of 700 men, that it might be thought the war gave him little concern. But Porſenna making a vigorous aſſault, obliged the defendants to retire to Rome, and would have entered the city along with them, had not Poplicola, by ſallying out at the gate, prevented it, and joining

* *Laras* or *Lars* ſignifies *king*, in the Tuſcan language, and was attributed to Porſenna, becauſe he was the moſt potent of all the kings that reigned in Tuſcany, which kings were called *Lucumones*.

† Porſenna did not march againſt Rome till the year following, under Poplicola's third conſulſhip, wherein he had Horatius Pulvillus for his colleague.

‡ That city was built and fortified under his ſecond conſulſhip, and conſequently before Rome was menaced by Porſenna; nor was it built out of oſtentation, or to ſhow how much he ſurpaſſed Porſenna in courage, but to ſerve as a ſafeguard againſt the Latins and Hernici, who then began to grow formidable.

battle

battle by the ſide of the Tyber, oppoſed the enemy, who preſſed on with their multitude; but at laſt ſinking under his honourable wounds, he was carried out of the field. The ſame fortune befel Lucretius; ſo that the Romans being diſmayed, retreated into the city for their ſecurity, and Rome was in great hazard of being taken, the enemy making good their purſuit to the wooden bridge, where Horatius Cocles *, ſeconded by two of the moſt eminent men in Rome, Herminius and Spurius Lartius †, made head againſt them. He obtained the name of *Cocles* from the loſs of one of his eyes in the wars; or, as others write, from the flatneſs of his noſe, by which both his eyes, as well as both his eyebrows, ſeemed to be almoſt joined together; and hence they intending to call him *Cyclops*, by a defect in pronunciation uſually called him *Cocles*. This Cocles kept the bridge, and repulſed the enemy, till his own party broke it down behind, and then in his armour caſt himſelf into the river, and ſwam to the other ſide, being wounded upon his hip with a Tuſcan ſpear. Poplicola admiring his courage, obliged the Romans to tax themſelves, and to make a preſent to Horatius of as much as each of them reſpectively ſpent in a day ‡, and afterwards they gave him as much land as he himſelf could encircle

* He was the ſon of one of the Conſul Horatius's brothers, and deſcended from that Horatius who remained victorious in the combat betwixt the Horatii and Curiatii in the reign of Tullus Hoſtilius.

† I have ventured here to correct the text, where Plutarch ſays it was Herminius and Lucretius; but how could Lucretius be there, who had juſt before been wounded and carried off? Livy calls the two officers who aſſiſted Horatius Cocles in the defence of the bridge, *Herminius* and *Lartius*. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus does ſo too, and adds, that they had the command of the right wing.

‡ The manner in which Dionyſius relates this circumſtance tends more to the honour of Horatius, for he ſays it proceeded from the mere motion of the people. However it was, this preſent could not but amount to a very conſiderable ſum, for even the women were not exempted on this occaſion; ſo that he could not have ſo few as 300,000 contributers.

with a plough in one day; beſides, they erected a brazen ſtatue to his honour in the temple of Vulcan, as a requital for the lameneſs he contracted from his wound. While Porſenna was laying cloſe ſiege to the city, a peſtilence raged amongſt the Romans, and a new army of the Tuſcans made incurſions into the country. Poplicola therefore, now choſen conſul for the third time, thought it the ſafeſt way to keep upon the defenſive; however watching his opportunity, and ſallying out upon the enemy unexpectedly, he routed them, and killed five thouſand of them *. The ſtory of Mucius is variouſly related, but I ſhall follow that account which appears moſt probable. He was a perſon endowed with every virtue, but moſt eminent for his military talents. Reſolving to kill Porſenna, he dreſſed himſelf in the Tuſcan habit, and uſing their language came to the camp, entered the king's quarters, and approached the ſeat where the king ſat amongſt his nobles; but not certainly knowing the king, and yet being fearful to inquire, he drew his ſword, and ſtabbed him who amongſt all the reſt ſeemed moſt like a king †. He was upon this immediately ſeized and examined. A pan of fire ſtanding near the king, who intended to ſacrifice, Mucius thruſt his right hand into the flame ‡, and

* This ſtratagem of Poplicola is deſcribed at large by Livy in *lib.* 11. *cap.* 11.

† Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, the king was not then preſent, but that his ſecretary was miſtaken for him. If the king had been there in perſon, it would have been impoſſible for Mucius not to have diſtinguiſhed him.

‡ Livy ſays, that Porſenna threatened Mucius with the rack, in order to force him to diſcover his accomplices; and that upon this menace Mucius plunged his hand into the flame, to let his enemy ſee that he was not to be intimidated. Accordingly Plutarch himſelf makes Mucius ſay in the ſequel, *I have overcome the terrors of Porſenna.* Livy is the only writer that makes mention of Mucius's burning his hand. Dionyſius has not a word of it ſo; that one may rationally conclude it was added on purpoſe to give the action a greater luſtre, and make it look the more ſurpriſing.

whilſt

whilſt it burnt, beheld Porſenna with a fierce and undaunted countenance. Porſenna admiring the man, diſmiſſed him, having returned him his ſword with his own hand *. Mucius received it in his left hand, which occaſioned the name of *Scævola, i. e.* left-handed; and ſaid; *I have overcome the terrors of Porſenna, yet am vanquiſhed by his generoſity, and gratitude obliges me to diſcover what no puniſhment could extort.* He aſſured him then, that 300 Romans, all with the ſame deſign, lurked about his camp, only waiting for an opportunity, and that he by lot was deſtined to make the firſt attempt; that he was not troubled however that he had failed, ſince he found him to be ſo good a man, and one who deſerved rather to be a friend to the Romans than an enemy. To this Porſenna gave credit, and thereupon expreſſed an inclination to a truce; not, I ſuppoſe, ſo much out of fear of the 300 Romans, as from an admiration of the Roman courage. All other writers call this man *Mucius Scævola*; yet Athenodorus † the ſon of Sandon, in a book addreſſed to Octavia, Cæſar's ſiſter, avers, he was alſo called *Poſthumius*. Poplicola, not ſo much eſteeming Porſenna's enmity dangerous to Rome as his friendſhip and alliance ſerviceable, was induced to refer the controverſy betwixt him and Tarquin to his arbitration, and ſeveral times ſummoned Tarquin to appear, and make his defence, undertaking to prove him the worſt of men, and juſtly deprived of his kingdom. But Tarquin proudly replied, *he would admit no judge, much leſs Porſenna, who had forſaken his alliance.* Porſenna reſenting this

* There is a ſtronger inſtance of magnanimity in this account than in that Dionyſius gives of it. He tells us that Porſenna ordered him to priſon, and that he releaſed him upon his ſon's advice, who told him, that his ſtrongeſt ſecurity againſt the attempts of the Romans would be their friendſhip, on which he ought to rely, much more than on the ſtrength and number of his guards.

† He was a Stoic philoſopher, who had been preceptor to Auguſtus, and was afterwards, by his appointment, preceptor to Tiberius.

anſwer, and miſtruſting the equity of his cauſe, being likewiſe ſolicited to it by his ſon Aruns, who was earneſt for the Roman intereſt, made a peace on theſe conditions, that they ſhould reſign the country they had taken from the Tuſcans, reſtore all priſoners, and receive their fugitives. To confirm the peace, the Romans gave as hoſtages ten of the nobility's ſons, and as many daughters, amongſt whom was Valeria, the daughter of Poplicola.

Upon theſe aſſurances, Porſenna ceaſed from all acts of hoſtility. The Roman virgins going down to the river to bathe, at that part where the crookedneſs of the bank embracing the waters, rendered them ſmooth and ſerene, and ſeeing no guard *, nor any perſon coming, or going over, were encouraged to ſwim to the other ſide, notwithſtanding the depth and violence of the ſtream. Some affirm that one of them, by name *Clælia*, paſſing over on horſeback, perſuaded the reſt to follow. But upon their ſafe arrival coming to Poplicola, he neither admired or approved their return, but was concerned, leſt he ſhould appear leſs faithful than Porſenna, and this boldneſs in the virgins ſhould argue treachery in the Romans; ſo that apprehending them, he ſent them back to Porſenna †. But Tarquin's men having intelligence of this, laid a ſtrong ambuſcade on the other ſide for thoſe that conducted them; a ſkirmiſh enſuing, Valeria, the daughter of Poplicola, ruſhed through the enemy and fled, and with the aſſiſtance of three of her retinue made good her eſcape; whilſt the reſt were in great danger, being ſurrounded by the ſoldiers. Aruns, Porſenna's ſon, having intelligence of their danger, haſtened to their reſcue, and putting the enemy to flight, delivered the Romans. When

* Dionyſius, on the contrary, ſays they were under a guard, but that they deſired them to keep at ſome diſtance, that they might undreſs without being ſeen.

† Dionyſius ſays that he went back with them himſelf.

Porſenna

Porſenna ſaw the virgins returned, he demanded who was the author and promoter of the deſign; and underſtanding Clœlia to be the perſon, he looked upon her with a mild and cheerful countenance, and commanding one of his horſes to be brought ſumptuouſly adorned, made her a preſent of it. This is produced as an evidence by thoſe, who affirm that Clœlia only paſſed the river on horſeback; but others deny this conſequence, looking upon it merely as an honour the Tuſcans paid to her courage, which had incited her companions to ſo hardy an enterpriſe. However it be, her ſtatue on horſeback ſtands in the Via Sacra *, as it leads to the Palatium; though ſome ſay it is not the ſtatue of Clœlia, but of Valeria. Porſenna being thus reconciled to the Romans, obliged them with a freſh inſtance of his generoſity, and commanded his ſoldiers, when they decamped, to carry nothing with them but their arms, leaving their tents which were well furniſhed with proviſions, and many other things of value, to the Romans †. Hence aroſe the cuſtom which even ſtill continues, when any goods are put up to ſale on account of the public, for the crier to declare in the firſt proclamation, that they are the goods of Porſenna, thereby to eternize the memory of his kindneſs; and a ſtatue of him in braſs was erected cloſe to the ſenate-houſe, plain, and of antique faſhion. Afterwards the Sabins making incurſions upon the

* Dionyſius, on the contrary, tells us in expreſs terms, that in his time, that is, in the reign of Auguſtus, there were no remains of that ſtatue. *There is not*, ſays he, *in our days any thing of that ſtatue to be ſeen. We are told that it was deſtroyed by a fire which conſumed ſeveral of the contiguous buildings.* Plutarch without doubt was miſled by thoſe who pretended to ſhow him the antiquities of Rome.

† The Tuſcans were always as well furniſhed and ſupplied in their camp, as they could be in a city, and whenever they decamped, they conſtantly ſet fire to it; but Porſenna for once broke through that cuſtom in favour of the Romans. This was a very magnificent preſent; for the public treaſurers poſſeſſed themſelves of the booty, and raiſed great ſums from the ſale of it.

Romans, Marcus Valerius, brother to Poplicola, was made conſul, and with him Poſthumius Tubertus; but the chief management of affairs was ſtill under the direction of Poplicola. Marcus obtained two great victories, in the latter of which he ſlew 13,000 Sabins without the loſs of one Roman, and was rewarded not only with a triumph, but alſo with a houſe built in the Palatium at the public charge. And whereas the doors of other houſes opened inward, they made this to open outward into the ſtreet, as intimating by this privilege, that he was always ready for the public ſervice. The ſame faſhion in their doors the Greeks, they ſay, had of old; which appears from their comedies, wherein thoſe who are going out make a noiſe at the door within, to give notice to ſuch as paſs by or ſtand near the door, that they may not receive any hurt by the opening of it.

The next year Poplicola was made conſul the fourth time, when a confederacy of the Sabins and Latins threatened a war; at the ſame time, a ſuperſtitious fear over-run the city, becauſe all the women then pregnant brought forth imperfect children, and were delivered before their time. Poplicola having thereupon conſulted the books of the Sibyls *, ſacrificed to Pluto, and renewed certain obſolete games, which had formerly been or-

* In the beginning of Tarquin's reign a woman unknown ſhowed him nine volumes of the Sibylline oracles, which ſhe offered to ſell him at a certain price. Tarquin thought them too dear; whereupon ſhe burnt three, and demanded the ſame price for the remaining ſix. The tyrant laughed at her abſurdity in demanding the ſame ſum of money for ſix, which he thought too much for the nine. Upon this ſhe burnt three more, and ſtill inſiſted upon the ſame price. Tarquin aſtoniſhed at the woman's ſteadineſs, conſulted the augurs, who told him that his refuſal of the books was an affront to religion, and that he ought to ſave the three that were left by paying her the ſum ſhe demanded. Theſe books were kept with the utmoſt care, and by decree of the ſenate were to be conſulted in all public calamities. They were preſerved ſafe till the days of Marius, when they were burnt in the fire that deſtroyed the capitol.

dained

dained by an ancient oracle of Apollo. Having by theſe ceremonies animated the city with confidence in the gods, he prepared to arm himſelf againſt the menaces of men; for at that time nothing was talked of but formidable leagues, and warlike preparations of ſtates confederated againſt the Romans. There was one Appius Clauſus amongſt the Sabins, a man of a great eſtate and remarkable ſtrength of body, but moſt eminent for his virtue, and his eloquence; he (as it happens to all great men) could not eſcape the envy of others; and this was chiefly occaſioned by his preventing the war; his enemies inſinuating that he ſuffered the Romans to increaſe in power, that he might have a better opportunity of enſlaving his own country. He knowing how readily theſe reports would be received by the multitude, and how offenſive they would be to the abettors of the war, was afraid to ſtand a trial; but being powerfully ſupported by his friends and relations, he raiſed a tumult amongſt the Sabins, which delayed the war. Poplicola, who was careful not only to inform himſelf of every thing that paſſed among them, but alſo to promote and increaſe the ſedition, diſpatched emiſſaries with theſe inſtructions to Clauſus: *That Poplicola was aſſured of his goodneſs and juſtice, and thought it unworthy of him, though injured, to ſeek revenge upon his fellow-citizens; yet if he pleaſed for his own ſecurity to leave his enemies and come to Rome, he ſhould be received, both in public and private, with that honour his virtue deſerved, and the Roman grandeur required.* Appius ſeriouſly weighing theſe things, the neceſſity of his affairs determined him to accept the offer. He perſuaded his friends to accompany him, and they inviting others to join with them, five thouſand men of the moſt peaceable diſpoſition of any among the Sabins came to Rome with their families. Poplicola, advertiſed of their approach, received them with all the kind offices

offices of a friend; he gave them the freedom of the city, allotted to every one two acres of land by the river Anio, but to Claufus twenty-five acres, and admitted him into the ſenate: this laid the foundation of his greatneſs among the Romans, and by his prudent conduct he afterwards arrived at the firſt rank in power and authority, and his poſterity the Claudii were inferior to no family in Rome *.

Though the departure of theſe men allayed the ſedition amongſt the Sabins, yet the chief of the community would not ſuffer them to remain in peace, but reſented that Claufus, who by his preſence could not, ſhould by his abſence as a deſerter obſtruct their revenge upon the Romans for all their injuries. Advancing therefore with a great army, they encamped near Fidenæ, and placed an ambuſcade of two thouſand men in the obſcure and hollow places about Rome, with a deſign that ſome horſemen ſhould at day-break make incurſions, and forage up to the very gates of the city, on purpoſe to provoke the Romans to ſally out, and then retreating draw them inſenſibly into the ambuſcade. But Poplicola having that very day been advertiſed of their deſigns by ſome deſerters, prepared himſelf accordingly, and made a diſpoſition of his forces. That evening he detached Poſthumius Balbus his ſon-in-law at the head of 3000 foot, with orders to poſt them on the hills under which the Sabins lay in ambuſh; and ordered his colleague Lucretius, at the head of the lighteſt and boldeſt of the troops, to repulſe the foragers; whilſt he himſelf with the remainder took a large com-

* There were two families of the Claudii in Rome. One Patrician, and the other Plebeian. The firſt were ſurnamed *Pulchri*, and the other *Marcelli*. In courſe of time the Patrician family produced twenty-three conſuls, five dictators, and ſeven cenſors, and obtained two greater, and two leſſer triumphs. Of this family was the emperor Tiberius deſcended.

paſs,

paſs, and incloſed the enemy in the rear. The morning happened to be very thick and foggy; and Poſthumius, as ſoon as it was light, with loud ſhouts from the tops of the hills fell upon thoſe who lay in ambuſh; whilſt Lucretius in the mean time charged the light horſe, and Poplicola attacked the camp of the enemy. Thus every thing tended to bring the Sabins into a general diſorder; and that which contributed moſt to their deſtruction was the confidence one party had of the other's ſucceſs; in which perſuaſion, inſtead of fighting, and making head againſt the enemy, they both betook themſelves to flight; thoſe in the camp fled towards them who lay in ambuſh, and theſe endeavoured to regain the camp; ſo that both hoped for that aſſiſtance which neither was able to give, and they all fell into the hands of thoſe they were endeavouring to fly from. They had been all cut to pieces but for the nearneſs of the city of Fidenæ, which proved an aſylum to ſeveral of them, eſpecially to thoſe that quitted the camp when the Romans broke into it; but they who could not reach the city, either periſhed in the field, or were taken priſoners. Though the Romans uſually aſcribed every extraordinary event to the interpoſition of ſome deity, yet they attributed this victory to the ſingular conduct of their commander. For thoſe who had been in the action were heard to ſay openly, that Poplicola had delivered their enemies into their hands lame, and blind, and almoſt fettered, to be diſpatched by their ſwords. The people were enriched by the ſpoils of the Sabins, and the ſale of their captives; and Poplicola having obtained a ſecond triumph, and committed the city into the hands of thoſe who were to ſucceed him in the government, died full of honours, after a life well ſpent in the attainment of every thing great and deſirable, as far as man is capable of ſuch attainments. The people, as if they had done nothing

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in honour of him while he was alive, but were ſtill greatly in his debt for the many ſignal ſervices he had rendered them, decreed him an interment at the public charge *, every one contributing a quadrans towards the expenſe †. Beſides, the women by common conſent reſolved to mourn for him a whole year; which was a ſingular inſtance of their gratitude and ſincere veneration for his memory. The people alſo ordained that he ſhould be buried in the city, near the place called *Velia*, and that it ſhould remain a burying-place for his poſterity for ever ‡. But at preſent none of the family are interred there ‖. It is true the corpſe is carried thither

* As this was an honour ſometimes rendered to the rich, I think Plutarch ought to have added, that they ordered Poplicola to be buried by the public, becauſe he had not left ſufficient of his own to anſwer the expenſe, which is a particular the moſt honourable in his favour. For a man, who had expelled the kings, and given their eſtates to the people, who had been four times conſul, and triumphed twice over two potent nations; for ſuch a man to die poor, in ſpite of ſo many opportunities and temptations to be rich; this muſt be looked upon as the moſt glorious circumſtance of all, and by no means to have been paſſed by unmentioned. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus and Livy were too juſt to his memory not to take notice of it.

† Other hiſtorians ſay, that the expenſe of his funeral was defrayed by the public treaſury, not by the contributions of particulars.

‡ By this it appears that before the Romans had received the Athenian laws, and the twelve tables, by which it was forbidden to bury any one in the city, this cuſtom was obſerved amongſt them. It is very likely they had borrowed this from the Grecians before they were governed by their laws. For in Greece none were to be buried in their cities but ſuch as had been the founders of thoſe cities, or had merited that honour by ſome eminent ſervices. The Romans aſſigned one particular place for Poplicola's funeral pile, and another wherein his aſhes were depoſited, "and that," ſays Dionyſius, "was the burying-place of all his deſcendents; an honour preferable to all the wealth, and all the empires of the world, in the opinion of ſuch as made felicity to conſiſt not in voluptuouſneſs, but in thoſe things which are truly honourable."

‖ That privilege was continued to them in Auguſtus's time, as is evident from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus. But what is added by that writer, that Poplicola and his deſcendents were the only Romans who had ever received that honour even to his time, is not abſolutely true; for about fifteen or ſixteen years after the death of Poplicola, the bodies of ten military tribunes who had been ſlain in the war againſt the Volſci, were burnt in the Circus, and buried near it.

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in ceremony, and a man appointed for that purpoſe places a lighted torch under it, but ſnatches it away immediately. This is done as an atteſtation of the privilege due to the deceaſed, and of his receding from that honour; after which the body is removed, and interred without the walls.

The Compariſon of Poplicola with Solon.

THere appears ſomething ſingular in this parallel, and what has not occurred in any other of the lives we have written; that the one ſhould be the imitator of the other, and the other a ſort of prophetic herald of the happineſs and virtue of him with whom he is compared. It is certain that Solon's definition of happineſs is much more applicable to Poplicola than Tellus. Solon ſays indeed that Tellus had been very happy, becauſe he had led a virtuous life, had good children, and died honourably in defence of his country; yet was he never celebrated in Solon's poems as a man of very eminent virtue, neither did his children, or any employments in the government, make his name memorable. But Poplicola, while he was alive, was the moſt eminent among the Romans, as well for the greatneſs of his virtue as his power, and after his death his family was accounted among the moſt honourable. Even to our days, the Poplicolæ, Meſſalæ, and the reſt of the Valerii, for * ſix hundred years have acknowledged him as the fountain of their honour. Though Tellus, like a gallant man, in the heat of battle maintained his poſt, and fought bravely in defence of his country, yet he was ſlain by his enemies; whereas Poplicola after having ſlain his enemies, a circumſtance much happier than to be ſlain

* It appears from this paſſage that Plutarch wrote this life about the beginning of Trajan's reign.

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by them, after having ſeen his country victorious and flouriſhing through his conduct both as a general and a magiſtrate, and having received the honours and triumphs due to ſuch ſervices, died the death Solon ſo paſſionately deſired, and which of all others he thought the moſt happy. Beſides, Solon's wiſh, contained in his anſwer to Mimnermus concerning the end of a man's life,

A ſilent unlamented death I hate;
Let ſighs and tears of friends attend my fate *;

proves Poplicola's felicity in that reſpect. His death did not only draw tears from his friends and acquaintance, but became the ſubject of an univerſal complaint and ſorrow through the whole city; for the very women deplored this loſs, as of a ſon, brother, or a common father. As for riches, Solon ſaid,

I would be rich, yet not unjuſtly gain;
A curſe attends what guilt and fraud obtain.

And Poplicola's riches were not only juſtly acquired, but alſo generouſly employed in the relief of the poor. So that if Solon was reputed the wiſeſt man, we muſt allow Poplicola to be the happieſt; for what Solon wiſhed for as the greateſt and moſt perfect good, that Poplicola enjoyed to his death. Wherefore Poplicola became as well an honour to Solon, as Solon to him, in copying his excellent method of modelling a commonwealth; for by ſtripping theconſul ſhip of its pride, he made

* Cicero thinks this wiſh of Solon's unbecoming a wiſe man; he prefers to it that of the poet Ennius, who wiſhes quite the contrary.

Nemo me lacrimis decoret, nec funera flettu
Faxit: cur! volito vivu' per ora virûm?
Whene'er I die, let not a tear be ſhed,
Nor mourn my friends around my gloomy bed.
How can I want a being, whilſt my name
Is borne immortal o'er the realms of fame?

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it easy and pleasant to the people. He also transplanted several of Solon's laws to Rome, such as that for impowering the people to elect their officers, and allowing offenders the liberty of appealing to the people, as Solon had done at Athens. Poplicola did not indeed create a new senate, as Solon had done *, but augmented the old with almost a double number. He erected the office of questors; lest the consul, if good, should not have leisure otherwise to attend to greater matters; or if bad, should have any temptation to injustice, having the government and treasury both in his hands.

The aversion to tyranny was greater in Poplicola: for whosoever endeavoured an usurpation, was punished by Solon's law only upon conviction; but Poplicola made it death without the formality of a trial. And though Solon justly gloried, that when he might easily have obtained the supreme power, and that even with the consent of the citizens, he refused to accept it; yet Poplicola merited not less, who finding the consular power too absolute, made it more popular by not using the authority he might. But we must allow, that Solon knew the propriety of such conduct before Poplicola: for he says,

The giddy multitude will best obey,
If steady, yet not rig'rous is thy sway.

But the remission of debts was peculiar to Solon; and this much strengthened the citizens liberty; for no law whatever could secure an equality, if the debts of the poor prevented that equality; because where they seemed chiefly to exercise their

* Plutarch attributes to Solon the institution of the Areopagus, which however was more ancient than that lawgiver, as has been already observed in his life. Cicero is of the same opinion with Plutarch, for he tells us in his first book of offices, that the Athenians did not owe so much to Themistocles for the victory he obtained over the Medes at Salamin, as they did to Solon for his constitution of that court.

liberty, as in debates, elections, and adminiſtrations of offices, they would be moſt enſlaved, being directed and controlled by the rich. But it is more extraordinary, that although ſedition uſually attends the remiſſion of debts, yet he applied it as a cure for ſedition: the remedy was hazardous indeed, but effectual; his virtue and credit being ſo great as to ſilence the clamour which naturally ariſes upon ſuch occaſions. The beginning of his government was more glorious; for he was himſelf an original, and followed no example, and without any aſſociate did great things by his own conduct. But Poplicola's government was more happy in the end; for Solon ſaw the diſſolution of his own commonwealth, but Poplicola's was preſerved inviolable till the civil wars. Solon leaving his laws engraven in wood, but deſtitute of a defender, departed from Athens; whilſt Poplicola, by continuing in the magiſtracy, thoroughly ſettled the government. And though Solon was ſenſible of Piſiſtratus's ambition, yet he was not able to ſuppreſs it, but ſunk under the new-eſtabliſhed tyranny; whereas Poplicola utterly ſubverted and diſſolved a potent monarchy, ſtrongly ſettled by long continuance; being nothing inferior to Solon in virtue and diſpoſition, and withal favourably aſſiſted with power and fortune to accompliſh his virtuous deſigns. As for martial exploits, Deimachus Platæenſis does not attribute even the wars againſt the Megarenſes to Solon *, as we have done: but Poplicola in great encounters, in which he performed the part both of a private

* He means that Deimachus, who after the death of Alexander the Great, and under the reign of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, was ſent ambaſſador to an Indian king called *Allitrochades*, the ſon of Sandrochottus. This ambaſſy gave him a pretence for writing a hiſtory of the Indies, which he ſtuffed with ſo many falſities and fables, that Strabo aſſures us, that of all the hiſtorians who have written upon that ſubject, there are none of ſo little credit, as Deimachus, and Megaſthenes. And yet Pliny has in his hiſtory borrowed many relations from thoſe faithful hiſtorians.

ſoldier

ſoldier and a commander, obtained the victory. As to the management of civil affairs, Solon in a ſportful way, and by a counterfeit ſhew of madneſs, ſolicited the enterpriſe of Salamin; whereas Poplicola in the very beginning, nothing daunted at the greateſt enterpriſes, oppoſed Tarquin, and detected the conſpiracy; and being principally concerned both in ſecuring, and afterwards puniſhing the traitors, he not only excluded the tyrants from the city, but fruſtrated likewiſe all their expectations from thence. And though where open reſiſtance, force, and manly courage were required, he always behaved with undaunted reſolution and ſteadineſs, yet he excelled more in peaceable tranſactions, where perſuaſion and condeſcenſion were neceſſary; Porſenna, a terrible and invincible enemy, by ſuch means being reconciled and made a friend. Some may perhaps object, that Solon recovered Salamin for the Athenians, when they had loſt it; whereas Poplicola receded from part of what the Romans were poſſeſſed of: but judgment is to be made of actions according to the times in which they were performed. The conduct of a wiſe politician is ever ſuited to the preſent poſture of affairs; for often by foregoing a part he ſaves the whole, and by yielding in a ſmall matter ſecures a greater; as Poplicola, who, by reſtoring what the Romans had lately uſurped, ſaved what was truly their own; and when they were ſcarce able to preſerve their city, he put them in poſſeſſion of the camp of thoſe that beſieged it. Permitting alſo the deciſion of the controverſy between Tarquin and him to his adverſary, and being favoured by the judge in the deciſion, he obtained as good terms as a victory could have procured; Porſenna putting an end to the war, and leaving them all the proviſion of his camp, through a perſuaſion of the virtue and gallant diſpoſition of the Romans, which the conſul had impreſſed upon him.

THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES.

THE family of Themiſtocles was too obſcure for him to derive any luſtre from thence. His father Neocles was not one of the moſt conſiderable men of Athens; he was of the ward of Phrear *, and of the tribe of Leontis; by his mother's ſide, he was illegitimate †; as appears by theſe verſes:

No Grecian ſire nor noble race I claim;
Thrace gave me birth, Abrotonon my name.
Yet ſhall Themiſtocles my glory raiſe:
He ſprang from me, and I muſt ſhare his praiſe.

Yet Phanias writes that the mother of Themiſtocles

* This ward was ſituated on the ſea-ſhore near the Piræus, and was ſo called from a well remarkable for this ſingularity. Thoſe who had been baniſhed for the commiſſion of an involuntary murder, and who, before they were reſtored, had been accuſed of having voluntarily committed another, were obliged to appear and take their trial before judges ſitting in court near that well. But as thoſe who were under the ſentence of baniſhment, were not ſuffered to tread on Attic ground, and yet it was not juſt to let a new crime go unpuniſhed, or to puniſh it without hearing the defence of the accuſed, a ſalvo was found by ſummoning the accuſed, and obliging him to repair thither in a boat, out of which he made his defence without landing.

† The original word does not only ſignify a perſon born out of wedlock, but one born of a foreign father and mother, though married in the ſtricteſt forms. It was a law at Athens, *That every citizen who had a foreigner to his mother ſhould be deemed a baſtard, and ſhould be conſequently incapable of inheriting his father's eſtate.*

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was not of Thrace, but of Caria, and that her name was not *Abrotonon*, but *Euterpe*; and Neanthes * adds further, that she was of the city of Halicarnassus in Caria. Therefore, when the illegitimate, or those who had but one parent an Athenian, were to perform their exercises at Cynosarges, (a wrestling-place without the gates dedicated to Hercules, who might also be reckoned illegitimate, as he was not wholly of divine extraction, but had a mortal woman for his mother), Themistocles persuaded divers of the young noblemen to accompany him, and to anoint and exercise themselves together at Cynosarges. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the distinction between those who were illegitimate or aliens, and those who were born of Athenian parents. However, it is certain that he was related to the house of the Lycomedians †; for Simonides reports that he rebuilt the chapel of Phlye ‡ belonging to that family, and beautified it with pictures, after it had been burnt by the Persians.

It is confessed by all, that from his youth he was of an impetuous nature, of a quick apprehension, and a strong understanding; and that he discovered early a genius for action and the management of public affairs: for the vacations and times of recreation from his studies, he spent not in play or in idleness, as other youths, but would be always inventing or composing some declamation, the subject of which was generally an accusation or defence of his companions; so that his master would often say to him, *Boy, thou canst never be any thing mean or indifferent, but must some time or other prove either a*

* Neanthes of Cyzicus, an orator and historian; he was a disciple of Milesius, who was a disciple of Isocrates. He wrote a Grecian history, and some other works.

† The Lycomedians were a family among the Athenians, that had the care of the sacrifices offered to Ceres, and the other celestial goddesses, for whom the poet Musæus composed a hymn, which was performed on those occasions.

‡ Phlye was a ward belonging to the tribe of Cecrops.

great benefit or a great miſchief to thy country. He received very ſlowly and negligently ſuch inſtructions as were given him for the regulating his manners, and behaviour, or the improving him in the politer arts and ſciences; but whatever was delivered to him to improve him in prudence, or in the management of public affairs, he heard with an attention uncommon in one of his years, as if he felt in himſelf that theſe were the things by which he ſhould hereafter be diſtinguiſhed. For which reaſon being long after reflected on in a company of ſome who paſſed for perſons more accompliſhed in what is called *good breeding*, and *genteel education*, he replied with ſome haughtineſs, *I never learned to tune a lute, or play upon a harp; but I know how to make an obſcure and inconſiderable city a great and flouriſhing one.* Steſimbrotus * ſays, that Themiſtocles was a hearer of Anaxagoras, and that he ſtudied natural philoſophy under Meliſſus †. But this is not agreeable to chronology; for Themiſtocles was much older than Pericles, with whom Anaxagoras and Meliſſus were contemporaries: for Anaxagoras lived with Pericles, and Meliſſus was general of the Samians when he beſieged Samos. It is therefore more probable, that Themiſtocles was, as others relate, a diſciple of Mneſiphilus ‡ the Phrearian, who was neither orator nor natural philoſopher, but a profeſſor of that which was then called *wiſdom*, and which conſiſted in political prudence, and the ſkilful management of public affairs ‖. There was for a conſiderable

* Steſimbrotus was of the iſle of Thaſos. He was contemporary with Pericles, and wrote an account of Themiſtocles, Thucydides, and Pericles. He alſo wrote the life of Homer.

† This Meliſſus was of Samos, and had been the diſciple of Parmenides.

‡ I do not remember to have read any where elſe of this Mneſiphilus; and it is ſomething ſurpriſing that a man who was ſo much a maſter of the art of government, and had Themiſtocles for his pupil, ſhould be ſo entirely unknown.

‖ For the firſt ſages were in reality conſummate politicians, forming rules

conſiderable time a ſucceſſion of the profeſſors of this ſcience, who may be looked upon as a ſect of philoſophers eſtabliſhed by Solon; but thoſe who came afterwards, and mixed it with declamation and diſputes in law, and changed the practical part of it into a mere art of ſpeaking, and exerciſe of words, were called *ſophiſts* *. However, Themiſtocles, when he firſt entered upon public buſineſs, applied himſelf to Mneſiphilus.

The firſt ſallies of his youth were wild and irregular, he being guided only by his own natural impetuoſity, uncontrolled by reaſon and education; ſo that he was continually changing his meaſures and courſe of life, and very often determined for the worſt, as he afterwards confeſſed, ſaying, *The wildeſt colts make the beſt horſes, when they come to be well taught and managed* †. But the ſtories which ſome relate, that he was diſinherited by his father, and that his mother killed herſelf through grief for her ſon's diſſolute conduct, ſeem to be entirely falſe; on the contrary, ſome ſay that to deter him from meddling in public affairs, and to let him ſee how the populace are wont to behave towards their leaders when they have no further uſe for them, his father ſhowed him the old galleys as they lay neglected and ſcattered upon the ſea-ſhore. It appears that Themiſtocles very early and with great eagerneſs engaged in public buſineſs, and was poſſeſſed with a ſtrong deſire of glory; ſo that, by his ambition to

rules and precepts for the government of communities. Thales was the firſt, who laying aſide politics, applied himſelf to phyſics. All the reſt, as Plutarch tells us in the life of Solon, acquired the reputation of wiſdom only by the great ſkill they had in the ſcience of government.

* The ſophiſts had their origin a little before the birth of Plato. Protagoras was the firſt who had this appellation given him.

† Idomeneus ſays that one morning Themiſtocles harneſſed four naked courtezans in a chariot, and made them draw him acroſs the Ceramicus in the ſight of all the people, who were there aſſembled, and that at a time when the Athenians were perfect ſtrangers to debauch either in wine or women.

raiſe

raiſe himſelf to the higheſt rank in the government, he from the very beginning incurred the hatred of the moſt powerful men in the city, but more eſpecially of Ariſtides the ſon of Lyſimachus, who always oppoſed him. And yet this great enmity between them ſeemed to have but a light beginning; for they both were in love with the fair Steſileus of Teios, as Ariſto * the philoſopher relates; and from that time they perpetually oppoſed each other in affairs that concerned the commonwealth. Not but that the diſſimilarity of their lives and manners may ſeem to have increaſed the difference; for Ariſtides was a man of a mild diſpoſition, and of conſummate probity and virtue; and governing not with a view to gain popular favour or applauſe, but conſidering only what was beſt, moſt agreeable to juſtice, and conducive to the public ſafety, he was often forced to oppoſe Themiſtocles, and to prevent the increaſe of his authority, becauſe he frequently inſtigated the people to unwarrantable enterpriſes, and introduced great innovations. For it is ſaid that Themiſtocles was ſo tranſported with the deſire of glory, and ſo ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by great actions, that though he was but young when the battle of Marathon was fought againſt the Perſians, and the conduct of the Athenian general Miltiades was every where extolled, he was obſerved to be thoughtful, to paſs the nights without ſleep, and to refuſe his accuſtomed meetings and recreations; and to thoſe who wondered at this change in his manner of living, and demanded the reaſon of it, he gave this anſwer, *That the trophies of Miltiades would not let him ſleep.* And when others were of opinion that the battle of Marathon would put an end to the war, Themiſtocles thought that it was but the beginning

* Ariſto of Ceos, a Peripatetic philoſopher, and a diſciple of Ariſtotle; he wrote an amorous hiſtory, in which he had collected all the ſimilar adventures that love had produced,

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of far greater conflicts *, for which he prepared himſelf continually for the good of all Greece, and exerciſed the city, as one foreſeeing at a great diſtance what was likely to come to paſs. And firſt of all, the Athenians being accuſtomed to diſtribute the revenue proceeding from the ſilver mine at Laurion amongſt themſelves, he was the only man that durſt propoſe to the people, that this diſtribution ſhould ceaſe, and that with the money ſhips ſhould be built to make war againſt the Æginetes, who were the moſt flouriſhing people in Greece, and by the number of their ſhips held the ſovereignty of the ſea. And to this Themiſtocles eaſily perſuaded them, not by alarming them with apprehenſions of danger from Darius or the Perſians; for they were at a great diſtance, and their coming ſeemed very uncertain; but by ſeaſonably employing the emulation, hatred, and anger of the Athenians againſt the Æginetes, he induced them to make preparations †. With this money an hundred ſhips were built, with which they afterwards fought againſt Xerxes; and from this beginning he by degrees perſuaded the Athenians to increaſe their naval power more and more, making it evident to them, that thoſe who on land were not a match for their neigh-

* For he did not queſtion but Darius would at length underſtand that the only way to deal with the Grecians was to attack them vigorouſly by ſea, where they could make the leaſt oppoſition.

† Thucydides however aſſures us, that he made uſe of both thoſe arguments to bring the Athenians to his purpoſe, not only the war againſt the Æginetes, but the apprehenſions they were under of the return of the Perſians. And Plato, in his third book *de legibus*, ſays expreſsly, that every day there was news at Athens of Darius's formidable preparations; and the ſame accounts that brought advice of Darius's death, aſſured them likewiſe that his ſon Xerxes inherited his father's reſentments, and was preparing to put his deſigns into execution; all which threw them into a great conſternation. It is very natural therefore to think that Themiſtocles made uſe of this terror to perſuade them to apply themſelves to maritime affairs, that ſo they might be in a condition to oppoſe a prince who was coming againſt them with a fleet of more than a thouſand ſail. Plutarch choſe rather to follow Herodotus, who only tells us that Themiſtocles obliged the Athenians to build two hundred galleys in order to carry on the war againſt the Æginetes.

bours,

bours, with their ſhips might be able not only to oppoſe the Perſians, but to become the rulers of Greece. So that, as Plato ſays, of valiant land-ſoldiers, he made them mere mariners and ſeamen, and gave occaſion for this reproach againſt him, that he took away from the Athenians the ſpear and the ſhield, and bound them to the bench and the oar. Theſe things he performed, notwithſtanding he was oppoſed by Miltiades, as Steſimbrotus relates. Whether he did not by this means corrupt the public manners, may be matter of inquiry for philoſophers. But that the deliverance of Greece came at that time from the ſea, and that thoſe galleys eſtabliſhed the city of Athens again after it had been deſtroyed, (to omit other proofs), Xerxes himſelf is a ſufficient witneſs; who, though his land-forces were ſtill entire, after he had been worſted at ſea, fled away, and thought himſelf unable to encounter the Athenians. And it ſeems to me that he left Mardonius behind him, not out of any hopes he had of bringing them into ſubjection, but to hinder the Greeks from purſuing him.

Themiſtocles is ſaid by ſome to have been very intent upon heaping up riches, that he might be the more liberal; for loving to ſacrifice often, and to be ſplendid in his entertainment of ſtrangers, he ſtood in need of a plentiful revenue. Yet he is accuſed by others of being naturally parſimonious, and ſordid to that degree, that he would ſell the proviſion which was preſented him. He deſired Philides, who was a breeder of horſes, to give him a colt; and when he refuſed it, threatened him *that in a ſhort time he would make his houſe like the Trojan horſe*; intimating thereby that he would raiſe contentions between him and ſome of his own family.

He exceeded all men in ambition and deſire of honour; and when he was but young and not known in the world, he deſired Epicles of Hermiona,

na, who was an excellent performer on the harp, and much eſteemed by the Athenians, to come and practiſe at his houſe, hoping that the deſire of hearing him would draw many perſons thither. When he came to the Olympian games, and endeavoured to rival Cimon in the pomp of his equipage and entertainments, and in his rich tents and furniture, he diſpleaſed the Greeks, who thought that ſuch magnificence might be allowed of in a young man of a noble family; but that it was great inſolence in one of mean extraction, and who was as yet but little known, to affect a ſplendour ſo unſuitable to his birth and fortune. He exhibited a tragedy at his own expenſe, and won the prize with his tragedians, at a time when thoſe entertainments were purſued with great eagerneſs and ambition *, and in memory of his victory ſet up a table with this inſcription; *Themiſtocles the Phrearian was at the charge of it, Phrynicus* † *made it, Adimantus preſided.* He was beloved by the common people, becauſe he would ſalute every particular citizen by his own name, and becauſe he always ſhowed himſelf a juſt judge of controverſies between private men. He ſaid to Simonides ‡, a poet of Ceos, who deſired ſomething

* Tragedy was juſt then arrived at its perfection, and the Athenians had ſo great a taſte for it, that whenever the magiſtrates or wealthy citizens were to entertain the people, they could not do it more effectually than by exhibiting to them the beſt tragedies with the utmoſt magnificence. This was the ground of great emulation, whilſt every one endeavoured to outvie his rival, not only in the coſtlineſs of the habits, and the magnificence of the decorations, but in the beauty of the piece, and the merit and reputation of the poet of whom they bought it.

† He was a tragic poet, the diſciple of Theſpis, and contemporary of Æſchylus. He was the firſt who brought women actors on the ſtage. His chief plays were Actæon, Alceſtes, and the Danaides.

‡ He wrote two poems on the battle of Marathon and Salamin; and was the author of ſeveral odes, and elegies. He was much in the favour of Pauſanias King of Sparta, and of Hiero King of Sicily. Plato had ſo high an opinion of his merit, that he gave him the epithet of *Divine*. He died in the firſt year of the 78th Olympiad, at almoſt ninety

ſomething of him, when he was commander of the army, that was not reaſonable, *Simonides, you would be no good poet if you ſhould violate the meaſures and rules of poetry, nor ſhould I be a good magiſtrate, if to oblige you I ſhould violate the law.* And at another time laughing at Simonides, he told him, *That he was a man of little judgment, to rail at the Corinthians, who were inhabitants of ſo great a city, and to have his own picture drawn ſo often, having ſuch an ill-favoured face.*

When he came into power, and had won the favour of the people, he ſtirred up a party againſt Ariſtides, who was at length overpowered and baniſhed by the oſtraciſm. When the Perſians were coming down into Greece, and the Athenians were in conſultation who ſhould be their general, many declined it, being terrified with the greatneſs of the danger; but there was one Epicydes an orator, ſon to Euphemides, a man of great eloquence, but of a cowardly and avaricious diſpoſition, who was deſirous of the command, and would probably have been elected, had not Themiſtocles, fearing that if the government ſhould fall into ſuch a man's hands all would be loſt, by a ſum of money prevailed on him to deſiſt from his pretenſions.

When the King of Perſia ſent meſſengers into Greece, with an interpreter, to demand water and earth *, Themiſtocles, by the conſent of the people, ſeized upon the interpreter, and put him to death, for preſuming to deliver the meſſage of a barbarian in the Grecian language. For this he was highly honoured by the Greeks; as alſo for

ninety years of age; ſo that he was very near fourſcore when he deſcribed the battle of Sa'amin.

* When the kings of Perſia required any ſtate or people to ſubmit to them, their cuſtom was to demand of them earth and water; abſolute ſubjection being ſignified by their ſurrendering to them two things ſo immediately neceſſary to life. Herodotus ſays that Xerxes did not ſend this meſſage to the Athenians; the ambaſſadors of his father Darius having been treated with great indignity when they made the ſame demand; for the Athenians threw them into a ditch, telling them, *There was earth and water enough.*

what

what he did to Arthmius of Zela, who, for bringing gold from the Perſians to corrupt the Grecians, was by the perſuaſion of Themiſtocles degraded and made infamous, together with his children, and his poſterity. But that which moſt of all redounded to his honour, was, that he put an end to all the civil wars of Greece, compoſed their differences, and perſuaded them to lay aſide all enmity during the war with the Perſians; and in this he is ſaid to have been much aſſiſted by Chileus the Arcadian.

Having taken upon himſelf the command of the Athenian forces, he immediately endeavoured to prevail upon the citizens to leave the city, to embark on board their galleys, and to meet the Perſian fleet at a great diſtance from Greece. But many oppoſing this, he led a great army (the Lacedæmonians having joined him) into Tempe, in order to defend the Theſſalians, who had not as yet declared for the Perſians. But when they returned without performing any thing, and it was known that not only the Theſſalians, but all as far as Bœotia had yielded to Xerxes; then the Athenians more willingly hearkened to the advice of Themiſtocles to fight by ſea, and ſent him with a fleet to guard the ſtraits of Artemiſium.

When the Grecian fleets were joined, the Greeks were deſirous to give the ſupreme command to Eurybiades the Lacedæmonian; but the Athenians, who furniſhed more veſſels than all the reſt together *, refuſed to give up the ſuperiority, till Themiſtocles, perceiving the danger of this conteſt †, yielded

* This appears from the catalogue Herodotus has given us in the beginning of his eighth book; for he there tells us, that the Athenians furniſhed 127 veſſels, and that the whole complement of the reſt of the Grecians amounted to no more than 151, out of which twenty belonged likewiſe to the Athenians, who had lent them to the Chalcidians. So that 147 of thoſe ſhips belonged to the Athenians, and no more than 131 to the other ſtates.

† Herodotus ſays it would in the event have been the ruin of Greece;

yielded the command to Eurybiades, and perſuaded the Athenians to ſubmit, by repreſenting to them, that if in this war they behaved themſelves like men, the Grecians for the future would of their own accord give them the chief command. To this moderation of his, Greece ſeems chiefly to have owed its preſervation, and the Athenians the reputation they acquired of ſurpaſſing their enemies in valour, and their allies in kindneſs and civility.

As ſoon as the Perſian fleet arrived at Aphetæ, Eurybiades was aſtoniſhed to ſee ſuch a vaſt number of veſſels before him; and being informed that two hundred more were ſailing round behind the iſland of Sciathus, he immediately determined to retire further into Greece, and to ſail back towards ſome part of Peloponneſus, where their land-army and their fleet might join; for he looked upon the Perſian forces to be altogether invincible by ſea. But the Eubœans, fearing that the Greeks would forſake them, ſent Pelagon to diſcourſe privately with Themiſtocles, and with him a large ſum of money; which he accepted, and gave to Eurybiades *, as Herodotus reports. But an Athenian called *Architeles*, who was commander of the ſacred galley, and wanted money to pay his crew, oppoſed him in his deſigns, and was for returning without delay. For this reaſon Themiſtocles ſo incenſed his countrymen againſt him, that they boarded his ſhip, and took what he had provided for his ſupper from him. Architeles being much provoked at this inſult, Themiſtocles ſent him in a cheſt a quantity of proviſions, and at the bottom of it a talent of ſilver, deſiring him to ſup quietly that night, and to

for the confederates had declared that they would withdraw, if the chief command was not given to a Lacedæmonian.

* Plutarch puts this ſtory in a light the moſt favourable to Themiſtocles. Herodotus does not tell it in this manner; on the contrary, he ſays expreſsly, that of the thirty talents preſented to him by the Eubœans, he ſent five to Eurybiades, three to a captain of the Corinthians, and that he kept the remainder himſelf.

provide

provide for his ſeamen and ſoldiers in the morning; if not, he would report amongſt the Athenians, that he had received money from the enemy. This circumſtance is related by Phanias the Leſbian.

Though the ſeveral * engagements between the Grecians and the Perſians in the ſtraits of Eubœa were far from being deciſive; yet they were of great advantage to the Grecians, who learned by experience, that neither the number of ſhips, nor the richneſs of their ornaments, nor the boaſting ſhouts or ſongs of victory uſed by the barbarians, were at all terrible to brave men who were reſolved to fight hand to hand with their enemies; theſe things they were to deſpiſe, and to come up cloſe and grapple with their foes. This Pindar took notice of, and ſpeaking of the fight at Artemiſium, juſtly ſays,

To this her greatneſs mighty Athens owes;
On this foundation freedom's ſtructure roſe.

For boldneſs and intrepidity is the beginning of victory. Artemiſium is a maritime town, to the north of Heſtiæa; and over-againſt † it lies Olizon, which is in the territory that formerly was ſubject to Philoctetes, where there is a ſmall temple of Diana, by way of diſtinction called *Diana* of the *Eaſt*. This temple is encompaſſed with a wood, and incloſed with pillars of white ſtone, which if rubbed with the hand, aſſume the colour, and emit the ſmell of ſaffron: on one of the pillars, theſe verſes are engraved:

* They came to three ſeveral engagements in three days time; in the laſt of which, Cimias, the father of Alcibiades, performed wonders. He had at his own expenſe fitted out a ſhip carrying two hundred men.

† Plutarch ſays *over-againſt*, in the ſame ſenſe as Virgil, ſpeaking of Carthage, ſays *Carthago Italiam contra*. For all the Pelaſgic gulf, and all Magneſia up to the Macedonian ſea, lay between Artemiſium and Olizon.

The valiant ſons of Athens near this coaſt
Vanquiſh'd in naval fight the Perſian hoſt,
With Aſia's numerous tribes combin'd; and here
To chaſte Diana's name this trophy rear.

There is a place ſtill to be ſeen upon this ſhore, where in the middle of a great heap of ſand, they take out from the bottom a black duſt like aſhes, or ſomething that has paſſed the fire; and here they think the wrecks of the ſhips and bodies of the dead were burnt. As ſoon as the news came from Thermopylæ * to Artemiſium, that Leonidas was ſlain, and that Xerxes had made himſelf maſter of all the paſſages by land, the fleet returned back into Greece, the Athenians ſailing in the rear, and being greatly elated on account of the valour they had ſhown, and the ſucceſs they had obtained.

As Themiſtocles ſailed along the coaſt, he took notice of the harbours and places fit for the enemy's ſhips to retire into, and engraved large letters on ſome ſtones which he found there by chance, and on ſome others which he ſet up on purpoſe near to the landing-places, or where they were to water. In theſe inſcriptions he required the Ionians to forſake the Medes, if it were poſſible, and come over to the Greeks, who were their ancient founders and progenitors, and were now hazarding all for their

* The laſt engagement at Thermopylæ, wherein Xerxes forced the paſſages of the mountains, by the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, Theſpians, and Thebans, who had been left to guard them, happened on the ſame day with the battle at Artemiſium; and the news of it was brought to Themiſtocles by an Athenian called *Abronychus*. Plutarch makes too ſlight a mention of this action; for though it has not any immediate relation to Themiſtocles, yet it ſerves to aggrandize his fame, ſince that defeat made Xerxes more formidable to the Grecians. They called a narrow paſs on a mountain that lay between Mount Oeta on the weſt, and the Meliac gulf on the eaſt, *Thermopylæ*, that is to ſay, *the gates of the hot baths*, of which there were ſeveral in thoſe parts. The gates belonged to a ſtrong wall built by the people of Phocis, on purpoſe to hinder the incurſions of the Theſſalians.

liberties;

liberties; but if this could not be done, at leaſt to perplex and diſorder the Perſians whenever they fought with the Greeks. He hoped that theſe writings would prevail with the Ionians to revolt, or at leaſt would cauſe great confuſion among them, by rendering their fidelity ſuſpected by the Perſians.

Though Xerxes had already paſſed through Doris *, had invaded the country of Phocis, and had burnt and deſtroyed the cities of the Phocians, yet the Greeks † ſent them no relief; and though the Athenians earneſtly deſired them to oppoſe the Perſians in Bœotia, before they could come into Attica, as they themſelves had oppoſed them by ſea at Artemiſium; yet the Grecians gave no ear to their requeſt, being wholly intent upon Peloponneſus, and reſolved to gather all their forces together within the iſthmus, and to build a wall from ſea to ſea over that ſtrait neck of land. The Athenians were enraged to ſee themſelves thus betrayed, and at the ſame time diſtreſſed and diſcouraged at ſo general a defection. To fight alone againſt ſuch a numerous army was to no purpoſe; and this only expedient was left them for the preſent, to abandon the city, and betake themſelves to their ſhips. But the people were very unwilling to hearken to this propoſal, having no deſire of victory, or idea of ſafety, if forced to abandon the temples of their gods, and the monuments of their anceſtors. Themiſtocles being unable to draw the people over to his opinion by any human arguments, ſet his machines on work, as in a play, and had recourſe to prodigies and oracles. The dragon of Minerva ‡, which, it ſeems, diſappeared about that time, ſerved him for a prodigy: and the prieſts finding that

* The Dorians were in the intereſt of Xerxes.

† By Greeks he means here the inhabitants of Peloponneſus.

‡ This dragon had the guardianſhip of the citadel, and was nouriſhed in the temple of Minerva,

the offerings which were every day ſet before it remained untouched, told the people, by the direction of Themiſtocles, that the goddeſs had left the city, and taken her flight before them towards the ſea. He often repeated to them the oracle which bid them truſt to walls of wood, ſhowing them that walls of wood could ſignify nothing elſe but ſhips *; and that the iſland of Salamin was not termed *miſerable* or *unfortunate* by Apollo, but *divine*, intimating thereby, that it ſhould one day be very fortunate to the Greeks †. At length ‡ his opinion prevailed, and he propoſed a decree, that the city ſhould be recommended to the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of the Athenians; that they who were of age to bear arms, ſhould embark; and that every one ſhould provide as well as he could for the ſafety of his wife, his children, and his ſlaves. This decree being paſſed, moſt of the Athenians removed their families to Trœzen, where they were received very hoſpitably; and the Trœzenians made an order that they ſhould be maintained at the public charge, by diſtributing daily two oboli to every one;

* Some thought that the oracle directed them to retire within that part of the city called the *Acropolis* or citadel, which was ſurrounded with a wooden fence.

† One verſe of the oracle was this.

Ὦ θεία Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δέ σου τέκνα γυναικῶν.

Divine Salamin, thou wilt deſtroy the children of women. Theſe two verſes confounded thoſe who ſo underſtood the oracle, as to interpret wooden walls by ſhips; for they thought it was meant by it, they ſhould be defeated near Salamin. Themiſtocles was the only perſon who diſcovered the abſurdity of that explication, and made it appear, that if Apollo meant that the Athenians were to periſh near Salamin, he would not have called it *divine*, but rather *unfortunate*; that the menace contained in the prediction related to their enemies, and that conſequently τέκνα γυναικῶν, *the children of women*, meant the *Perſians*, being ſo termed by the oracle to denote their cowardice and effeminacy.

‡ Themiſtocles's opinion ſo far prevailed, that the Athenians ſtoned Cyrſilus, who maintained the contrary. Nay, their animoſity went ſo far, that the women ſtoned the wife of that unfortunate declaimer.

that

that the children ſhould have leave to gather fruit where they pleaſed, and their ſchoolmaſter be paid at the public charge for inſtructing them. Nicagoras was the author of this decree.

There being no money in the treaſury at that time, the ſenate of Areopagus (as Ariſtotle ſays) diſtributed to every ſoldier eight drachmas; which contributed very much to the well manning of the fleet. But Clidemus aſcribes this to a ſtratagem of Themiſtocles; who, when the Athenians went down to the haven of Piræus, ſaid, that the ægis was taken away from the ſtatue of Minerva, and while he pretended to ſearch for it, and was ranſacking all places, he found among the baggage great ſums of money, which he ſeized for the uſe of the public; and with this the ſoldiers and ſeamen were well provided for their voyage.

The embarkation of the people of Athens afforded a ſpectacle, which in ſome excited pity, in others admiration of the firmneſs and conſtancy of thoſe, who, ſending away their parents to a diſtant place, unmoved by their cries, tears, and embraces, paſſed over into the iſland. But that which moved compaſſion moſt of all, was, that many old men, by reaſon of their great age, were left behind; and even the tame domeſtic animals raiſed ſome tender emotions, while by their mournful cries and howlings they ſhowed their affection for their maſters, and their regret at being forſaken by thoſe who had fed them. In particular it is reported, that Xanthippus the father of Pericles had a dog that would not endure to ſtay behind, but leaped into the ſea, and ſwam along by the ſide of the galley till he came to the iſland of Salamin, where he immediately expired; and he is ſaid to have been buried in that part of the iſland which is ſtill called *The dog's grave.*

Among the great actions of Themiſtocles, the recalling Ariſtides was not the leaſt; for before the war

war he was oppreſſed by a faction ſtirred up by Themiſtocles, and ſuffered baniſhment. But Themiſtocles now perceiving that the people regretted the abſence of this great man, and feared that he might go over to the Perſians to revenge himſelf, and thereby ruin the affairs of Greece, propoſed a decree, that thoſe who were baniſhed for a time, might return again, to give what aſſiſtance they could to the Grecians, both by their counſel and valour, with the reſt of the Athenians.

Eurybiades, by reaſon of the great authority of Sparta, was made chief commander of the Grecian fleet, although he was a man of little courage. He was willing to weigh anchor and ſet ſail towards the iſthmus, where the Peloponneſian army lay encamped; but Themiſtocles violently oppoſed him, and on this occaſion made thoſe well-known replies. When Eurybiades ſaid to him, *At the Olympic games they that riſe up before their turn are puniſhed*; Themiſtocles replied, *And they that are left behind are never crowned.* Eurybiades lifting up his ſtaff as if he were going to ſtrike him, Themiſtocles cried, *Strike, but hear me.* Eurybiades admiring his moderation, deſired him to ſpeak, and Themiſtocles then brought him over to his opinion. One who ſtood near him ſaid, *That it did not become thoſe who had no city to perſuade others to relinquiſh their habitations, and forſake their country.* To this Themiſtocles replied, *Wretch that thou art, we have indeed left our houſes and our walls, not thinking it fit to become ſlaves for the ſake of thoſe things that have no life; and yet our city is now the greateſt of all Greece, for it conſiſts of two hundred galleys* *, *which are here ready to defend you if you pleaſe: but if you run away and betray us a ſecond time, the Greeks ſhall ſoon perceive that the Athenians will poſſeſs as fair a country, and* † *as large and free a city as that which*

* In ſome manuſcripts it is *three hundred*.

† For the Athenians, having a fleet of 200 ſail, were in a condition

which they have quitted. Theſe expreſſions of Themiſtocles made Eurybiades ſuſpect, that if he retreated, the Athenians would fall off from him. When one of Eretria began to oppoſe him, he ſaid, *Have you any thing to ſay of war, who are like that fiſh* * *which has a ſword, but no heart?* Some ſay, that while Themiſtocles was diſcourſing of theſe things upon the deck, there was an owl ſeen flying to the right hand of the fleet, which came and ſat upon the top of the maſt. This happy omen ſo far diſpoſed the Greeks to follow his advice, that they preſently prepared to fight. Yet when the enemy's fleet was arrived at the haven of Phalerus upon the coaſt of Attica, and with the number of their ſhips covered all the ſhore; and when the Greeks ſaw the king himſelf come down with his land-army to the ſea-ſide, and all his forces united; then the good counſel of Themiſtocles was immediately forgotten, and the Peloponneſians caſt their eyes again towards the iſthmus, and could not bear with patience that any one ſhould ſpeak againſt their returning home; and reſolving to depart that night, the pilots had orders what courſe to ſteer.

Themiſtocles being greatly concerned that the Grecians ſhould retire, and loſe the advantage of the narrow ſeas and ſtrait paſſages, and ſlip home every one to his own city, contrived that ſtratagem, which was carried on by Sicinus. This Sicinus was a Perſian † captive, but had a great affection for Themiſtocles,

tion of making conſiderable conqueſts. Beſides, this reply included a menace that they would paſs into Italy, and poſſeſs themſelves of the city of Siris, which had been promiſed them by the oracle.

* The Greek name is *Teuthis*; but it is uncertain what fiſh is meant.

† I know not upon what authority Plutarch ſays that Sicinus was a Perſian. Can it be imagined, that Themiſtocles would commit the education of his children to a Barbarian? Plato would certainly have reproached him for it, as he did Pericles for having cauſed Alcibiades to be brought up by a Thracian ſlave. It is not improbable that he was miſled by a falſe reading of this paſſage in Herodotus. Πέμπει ἐς τὸ

Themiſtocles, and was tutor to his children: upon this occaſion Themiſtocles ſent him privately to Xerxes, with orders to tell the king, that the commander of the Athenians having eſpouſed his intereſt, had ſent early to inform him, that the Greeks were ready to make their eſcape, but that he adviſed him to hinder their flight, and to fall upon them while they were in this confuſion, and at a diſtance from their land-army; by which means he might deſtroy all their naval forces. Xerxes was highly pleaſed at this meſſage, and received it as from a friend; and immediately ordered the commanders of his ſhips to ſend out two hundred ſail, to encompaſs all the iſlands, and incloſe all the ſtraits and paſſages, that none of the Greeks might eſcape; and to follow with the reſt of the fleet at leiſure. This motion of the enemy was firſt perceived by Ariſtides the ſon of Lyſimachus, who, though he was not in friendſhip with Themiſtocles, (for he had been formerly baniſhed by his means, as has been related), went immediately to him, and informed him that they were encompaſſed by their enemies. Themiſtocles knowing the generoſity of Ariſtides *, and being much pleaſed with his viſit at that time, imparted to him all that he had tranſacted by Sicinus, and entreated him, that having great authority among the Greeks, he would now make uſe of it in joining with him to induce them to ſtay, and fight their enemies in thoſe narrow ſeas.

τὸ τριακόσιον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοίῳ. *Miſit ad claſſem Medorum virum.* Perhaps inſtead of τὸ he read τῶν, and made τῶν Μήδων relate to ἄνδρα, and ſo tranſlated it, *he ſent to the fleet a man of the Medes*, whereas Herodotus means, *he ſent a man to the fleet of the Medes.* This is the more likely, becauſe Æſchylus, who was in this action, ſpeaking of Sicinus, ſays, *A certain Greek from the army of the Athenians told Xerxes*, &c. v. 355.

* Plutarch here ſpeaks as if Ariſtides was then in the fleet; but he was in the iſland of Ægina, from whence he ſailed by night, with great hazard, and paſſing through the Perſian fleet, brought this intelligence to Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides

Ariſtides applauded Themiſtocles, and went to the other commanders and captains of the galleys, and encouraged them to engage; yet they did not perfectly believe what he had reported, till a galley of Tenos which revolted from the Perſians *, whereof Panætius was commander, came into their fleet, and confirmed the news, that all the ſtraits and paſſages were beſet; and then rage and fury, as well as neceſſity, provoked them all to fight.

As ſoon as it was day, Xerxes placed himſelf on high to view his fleet, and to be a ſpectator of the battle. Phanodemus † ſays, he ſat upon an eminence above the temple of Hercules, where the channel which ſeparates the coaſt of Attica from the iſland is narroweſt; but Aceſtodorus ‡ writes, that it was in the confines of Megara, upon thoſe hills which are called *the horns* ‖, where he ſat on a golden ſeat †, with many ſecretaries about him to write down all that ſhould paſs in the fight.

While Themiſtocles was ſacrificing upon the admiral galley, there were three very beautiful captives brought to him, richly dreſſed and adorned with gold, ſaid to be the children of Autarctus and

* Moſt of the iſlands had declared for the Perſians. This Panætius the ſon of Socimenes came over to the Greeks with the ſhip under his command; and the Grecians were ſo ſenſible of his ſervice, that on a tripos, which they conſecrated in the temple of Delphi, the Tenians were inſcribed among the names of thoſe who had contributed to the obtaining that victory over the Barbarians.

† An ancient author, who wrote the hiſtory of Attica, perhaps the ſame with that quoted by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, under the title of Ἀτθικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας, *of the antiquities of Attica.*

‡ An hiſtorian, author of an hiſtory of Greece. We are not to confound him with Aceſtorides, who wrote a treatiſe *of the fabulous accounts of cities.*

‖ On the coaſt over-againſt Salamin, are two mountains, which ſeparate Attica from the territories of Megara; they are called *Cerata, the horns.* *Strab. lib.* ix.

† It was not of gold, but ſilver, and was conſecrated in the temple of Minerva, with the golden ſabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterwards in the battle of Platæa. Demoſthenes, who had ſeen it often, calls it δίφρον ἀργυρόπουν, *a chair with ſilver feet.*

Sandace,

Sandace, ſiſter to Xerxes. As ſoon as the ſoothſayer Euphrantides ſaw them, and obſerved that at the ſame time the fire blazed out from the offerings with extraordinary brightneſs *, and that one ſneezed to the right †, which portended ſome fortunate event, he took Themiſtocles by the hand, and ordered that the three youths ſhould be conſecrated and ſacrificed to Bacchus Omeſtes ‡, or *the devourer*; for hereby the Greeks would not only ſave themſelves, but alſo obtain victory. Themiſtocles was ſtartled at a prophecy that carried ſo much cruelty and inhumanity in it; but the populace, according to their manner in all preſſing difficulties, truſting more to any abſurd and extravagant means

* This was always taken for a fortunate preſage, as was the flame that ſhone round the head of Servius Tullius, of which Florus ſays, *quem clarum fore viſa circum caput flamma promiſerat.*

† Sneezing was always looked on as a happy omen, and is a ſuperſtition of a very ancient date, there being a remarkable inſtance of it in the 17th book of Homer's Odyſſey, without any diſtinction either of the right or left; but afterwards ſneezings to the right only were looked upon as fortunate prognoſtics. This ſuperſtition paſſed from Greece to Rome, which gave Catullus occaſion to ſay,

Amor, ſiniſter ante,
Dextram ſternuit approbationem.

‡ I no where find that Bacchus was ever worſhipped at Athens under that name; much leſs that the Athenians offered to him human ſacrifices. He was on the contrary too merciful and benign a deity to receive them. The Grecians report of him, that one day as ſome young people were ſacrificing to him near the river Aſopus in Bœotia, they drank to ſuch exceſs, that in their cups they killed the prieſt; for which offence the country was immediately puniſhed with a peſtilential diſeaſe. Hereupon they had recourſe to the oracle, and were ordered by way of atonement to ſacrifice a beautiful youth to Bacchus; but Bacchus abhorring ſuch a victim, ſent a goat in the place of the youth; in memory of which they built him a temple on the very ſpot, which they conſecrated to Bacchus Aigobolos, that is, *the goat-ſender*. If I am not miſtaken, the greateſt cruelty that ever was allowed in his rites, was what was practiſed in a town of Arcadia, where in one of his feſtivals they uſed to whip the women, as they did the young men round Diana's altar at Sparta. But as the iſlanders were always more cruel than the inhabitants of the continent, it cannot be denied but that they did offer human ſacrifices to Bacchus in the iſlands. Evelpis Cariſtius ſays, that at Chios and Tenedos they ſacrificed to him under the name of *Omadius*; and Docides ſays they did the ſame thing at Leſbos.

of

of ſafety, than to ſuch as are reaſonable, with one voice invoked Bacchus, and bringing the captives to the altar compelled Themiſtocles to perform the ſacrifice, as the ſoothſayer had commanded. This is reported by Phanias the Leſbian, a philoſopher and a good hiſtorian. As to the number of the enemy's ſhips, the poet Æſchylus writes in his tragedy called *the Perſians*, *That to his own knowledge Xerxes had a thouſand ſhips, of which two hundred and ſeven were of extraordinary ſwiftneſs.* The Athenians had an hundred and eighty; in every ſhip eighteen men fought upon the deck, four of whom were archers, and the reſt well armed.

As Themiſtocles had taken poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous place, ſo he ſhowed no leſs judgment in chuſing the beſt time of fighting; for he would not begin the engagement, till the time of day was come when there conſtantly riſes a bluſtering wind from the ſea, which makes a rough water in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian ſhips, which were low built and ſtrong; but was very hurtful to the Perſian veſſels, which had high ſterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy, ſo that their ſides were continually expoſed to the Grecians, who fiercely aſſaulted them, ſtrictly obeying the orders of Themiſtocles, who well underſtood what was moſt for their advantage. When Ariamenes, admiral to Xerxes, a good man, and by far the braveſt and worthieſt of the king's brothers, made towards Themiſtocles, and having a great ſhip, threw darts and ſhot forth arrows, as from the walls of a caſtle; Aminias the Decelian, and Soſicles the Pedian, who ſailed in the ſame veſſel, bore in and attacked him, and both ſhips meeting, their ſharp ſterns armed with braſs pierced through each other, ſo that they were faſtened together; when Ariamenes attempting to board them, Aminias and Soſicles ran at him with their pikes, and thruſt him into the ſea: his body, as it

floated, amongſt others was known by * Artemiſia, and carried to Xerxes. It is reported, that in the midſt of the combat a great flame ſhined bright in the air above the city of Eleuſis, and that ſounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriaſia as far as the ſea, like thoſe of a number of men that were going to celebrate the myſteries of Bacchus †; and that a cloud ſeemed to riſe from the place from whence this ſound came, and paſſing forward fell upon the galleys. Others affirmed that they ſaw apparitions in the ſhape of armed men, which reached out their hands from the iſland of Ægina towards the Grecian galleys, and were conjectured to be the Æacides ‡, whoſe aſſiſtance they had implored in their prayers before the fight. The firſt man that took a ſhip was Lycomedes the Athenian, captain of a galley, who cut down the enſigns which were in the prow of the ſhip, and dedicated them to the laurelled Apollo. As the battle was fought in a narrow channel, the Perſians could bring up only a part of their fleet, and many of their ſhips ran foul of one another; the Greeks hereby equalling them in ſtrength, fought with them till the evening, when they put them to flight, and obtained ſo complete and ſignal

* Artemeſia, daughter of Lygdamis, and queen of Halicarnaſſus. She armed five ſtout ſhips in aid to Xerxes. Herodotus highly commends her for her courage and prudence, and aſſures us that ſhe gave Xerxes the beſt advice of any of his allies. We are not to confound this princeſs with that Artemiſia, who was the wife of Mauſolus king of Caria, and lived above ninety years after this engagement.

† Herodotus mentions the ſame thing, but ſays that the viſion appeared ſome days before the battle, while Xerxes's land-forces were ravaging the territories of Attica, and was firſt diſcovered by an Athenian exile, much eſteemed by Xerxes, called *Dicæus* the ſon of Theocides.

‡ For a veſſel had been ſent to Ægina, in order to offer up prayers to Æacus, and his deſcendents. This Æacus was the ſon of Jupiter, and had been king of Ægina. He was remarkable for his juſtice and piety, whilſt he lived; and it is pretended that his prayers had often proved very advantageous to the Grecians. After his death it was given out, that Jupiter had made him one of the judges in the infernal regions.

a victory, that, as Simonides obſerves, neither the Greeks nor any other nation ever by ſea performed ſuch glorious ſervice, whether we conſider the bravery of the common ſeamen, or the conduct of the admiral.

After the battle, Xerxes being enraged at his ill fortune, attempted to ſtop up the channel, and to make a dam, upon which he might lead his land-forces over into the iſland of Salamin *.

Themiſtocles being deſirous to know the opinion of Ariſtides, told him, that he intended to ſet ſail for the Helleſpont, to break the bridge of ſhips †, whereby he might hinder the retreat of Xerxes, and become maſter of Aſia, without ſtirring out of Europe. But Ariſtides ‡ diſapproving his deſign, made this reply: *We have hitherto had to do with an enemy diſſolved in luxury; but if we ſhut him up within Greece, and drive him to neceſſity, he that is maſter of ſuch great forces, will no longer ſit quietly with a canopy of gold over his head, looking upon the fight for his pleaſure, but in ſuch a ſtrait will attempt every thing; he will be reſolute, and appear himſelf in perſon upon all occaſions, he will ſoon correct his errors, and ſupply what he has formerly omitted through remiſſneſs; therefore, inſtead of removing the bridge that is already made, we ſhould rather build another if it were poſſible, that he might make his retreat with the more expedition.* To which Themiſtocles, anſwered, *If this be requiſite,*

* According to Herodotus, he attempted this on purpoſe to conceal his true deſign, which was to recover the Helleſpont.

† Xerxes had laid a bridge of boats over the Helleſpont for the paſſage of his army, at a place which from thence was called *Zeugma*, that is, the junction, becauſe by means of this bridge the two ſhores were in a manner joined together. We ought not, as ſome geographers have done, to confound this Zeugma of Xerxes with a town of the ſame name on the Euphrates, where Alexander afterwards did the ſame thing that had been done here by Xerxes.

‡ Herodotus ſays it was not Ariſtides, but Eurybiades, who made that reply to Themiſtocles; and indeed that is more probable. Themiſtocles had no occaſion to confer with Ariſtides on that ſubject, but there was a neceſſity for him to communicate it to Eurybiades, who was general.

we muſt by all means unite in contriving ſome method to rid ourſelves of him as ſoon as may be. This being determined, he found out among the captives one of the king of Perſia's eunuchs named *Arnaces* *; whom he ſent to the king, to inform him, *that the Greeks being now victorious by ſea, had reſolved to ſail to the Helleſpont, and deſtroy the bridge; but that Themiſtocles being concerned for the king's preſervation, revealed this to him, that he might haſten towards the Aſiatic ſeas, and paſs over into his own dominions: and in the mean time he would cauſe delays, and hinder the confederates from purſuing him.* Xerxes no ſooner heard this, but being very much terrified, he retreated out of Greece with all ſpeed. The prudent conduct of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides in this affair, was afterwards more fully underſtood at the battle of Platæa; where Mardonius with a very ſmall part of the forces of Xerxes put the Greeks in danger of loſing all.

Herodotus writes, that of all the cities of Greece, Ægina performed the beſt ſervice in the war; in which alſo all men yielded to Themiſtocles, though ſome, out of envy, did it unwillingly; and when the Greeks returned to the iſthmus, where the officers delivered their ſuffrages inſcribed on billets taken from the altar, to determine who was moſt worthy, every one gave the firſt vote for himſelf, and the ſecond for Themiſtocles. The Lacedæmonians carried him with them to Sparta; where giving the rewards of valour to Eurybiades, and of wiſdom and conduct to Themiſtocles, they crowned him with olive, preſented him with the richeſt chariot in the city, and ſent three hundred young men to accompany him to the confines of

* This account is more probable than that given by Herodotus, who tells us that he who had been employed before, was made uſe of again by Themiſtocles on this occaſion. Beſides, Herodotus ſeems to ſully this action, by intimating that Themiſtocles did it with a view of ſecuring the protection of the Perſians, in caſe he ſhould afterwards be ill uſed by the Athenians.

their

their country *. At the next Olympian games, when Themiſtocles entered the place where thoſe exerciſes were performed, the ſpectators took no further notice of the combatants, but ſpent the whole day in looking upon him, ſhowing him to the ſtrangers, admiring him, and applauding him by clapping their hands, and all other expreſſions of reſpect; which ſo delighted him, that he confeſſed to his friends, that he then reaped the fruit of all his labours for the Greeks. He was naturally very fond of applauſe, as is evident from thoſe things which are recorded of him. When he was choſen admiral by the Athenians, he ended no buſineſs fully, public nor private, but deferred all till the day they were to ſail, that by diſpatching much buſineſs together, and having to do with all ſorts of men, his power and influence might appear more extraordinary. Viewing the dead bodies caſt up by the ſea, he perceived collars and chains of gold about them; yet he paſſed on, only ſhowing them to a friend that followed him, ſaying, *Take you theſe things, for you are not Themiſtocles.* He ſaid to Antiphates, a perſon of remarkable beauty, who had formerly behaved himſelf haughtily towards him, but now in his glory obſequiouſly waited on him, *Young man, we have both of us found our miſtake at the ſame time, though a little too late.* He uſed to ſay, *that the Athenians did not honour him, or admire him, but when they were in danger they ſheltered themſelves under him, as men do in ſtormy weather under a plane-tree; and when they have fair weather again, they pull off its leaves, and cut down its faireſt branches.* A Seriphian telling him, *that he had not obtained this honour by himſelf, but by the greatneſs and ſplendour of his city*; he replied, *You ſpeak truth, for I ſhould never*

* They were 300 horſe. Herodotus ſays that Themiſtocles was the only perſon who had ever been ſo honoured by the Lacedæmonians.

have been eſteemed if I had been of Seriphus; nor you though you had been of Athens. A commander of the army who thought he had performed conſiderable ſervice for the Athenians, boaſting of his actions, and comparing them with thoſe of Themiſtocles, he told him this fable: *The day after the feſtival once reproached the feſtival, that ſhe was perpetually wearied with buſineſs and toil, whereas the feſtival day was paſſed in idleneſs and luxury: to which the feſtival replied; That is true; yet if I had not been before you, you had not been at all; ſo if Themiſtocles had not been before you, where had you been now?* Laughing at his own ſon, who was ſomewhat too bold through the indulgence and fondneſs of his mother, he told him, *that he had the moſt power of any one in Greece*; for, ſaid he, *the Athenians command the reſt of Greece, I command the Athenians, your mother commands me, and you command your mother.* Loving to be ſingular in all things, when he had lands to ſell, he ordered the crier to give notice that there were good neighbours near it. Of two who made love to his daughter, he preferred the virtuous before the rich, ſaying, *he deſired a man without riches, rather than riches without a man.* Theſe things I have mentioned as ſpecimens of his wit and pleaſantry.

He now began to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens, having with money corrupted the Lacedæmonian Ephori, and perſuaded them not to oppoſe it, as Theopompus * reports; but, as moſt relate it, by over-reaching and deceiving them. For being choſen by the Athenians to go on an embaſſy to Sparta, he went thither; where the Lacedæmonians accuſing him of fortifying the city of Athens, and Poliarchus being ſent on purpoſe from Ægina to plead againſt him, he denied the fact, adviſing them to ſend to Athens to ſee whether it

* He was a diſciple of Iſocrates, and wrote a hiſtory of the Greeks and Barbarians in fifty-eight books.

were

were ſo or no; by which delay he got time for the building of the wall, and perſuaded the Athenians to ſeize upon thoſe who were ſent, and keep them as hoſtages for him. When the Lacedæmonians knew the truth, they did him no hurt, but hiding their anger for the preſent, ſent him away.

After this, he fortified the Piræus, (having obſerved the goodneſs of that harbour), and joined the whole city to the ſea; which was directly contrary to the policy of the old kings of Athens; who endeavouring to withdraw their ſubjects from the ſea and the care of maritime affairs, and to accuſtom them to live by agriculture, invented the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune for the patronage of the Athenians, when Minerva, by ſhowing to the judges an olive-tree, was declared to be their tutelary goddeſs. But Themiſtocles did not join the haven of Piræus to the city, as the poet Ariſtophanes obſerves, but he joined the city to the haven, and the land to the ſea *; which increaſed the power of the people againſt the nobility, the authority coming into the hands of watermen, mariners, and maſters of ſhips. He ordered, that the pulpit built in the Pnyx, for public orations, ſhould be placed towards the ſea: but the thirty tyrants afterwards turned it towards the land †, ſuppoſing that great power by ſea would

* That is, he did not make the whole city a harbour, which is generally a place of licentiouſneſs, but provided that the city might, on occaſion, be aſſiſted by the Piræus, and the Piræus be ſuccoured by the city; in which, however, he cauſed an exact diſcipline to be obſerved.

† It may ſeem a ſtrange ſuppoſition, that changing the proſpects of a public place where the people are accuſtomed to aſſemble, would be a means of changing their ſentiments and diſpoſitions; yet it is certain, that ſometimes a mere trifle is able to awake in the minds of the people ideas capable of producing very ſurpriſing effects, as may be ſeen in the life of Camillus. It appears from a paſſage in Ariſtophanes, that the change of view did not hinder this from being a very dangerous place; for he ſays that the people, though very mild and peaceable

would give life and encouragement to a popular government, but that husbandmen would be less offended at the greatness of the nobility. But Themistocles had still greater designs for augmenting their naval strength; for after the departure of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was arrived at Pagasæ, where they wintered, Themistocles, in a public oration to the people of Athens, told them, that he had a design to perform something that would be very advantageous to the Athenians, but that it was of such a nature, that it could not be communicated to the people in general. The Athenians therefore ordered him to impart it to Aristides only, and if he approved of it, to put it in practice. When Themistocles had discovered to him that his design was to burn the Grecian fleet in the haven of Pagasæ, Aristides coming out to the people, gave this report of the stratagem contrived by Themistocles, *that there was nothing more advantageous, but at the same time nothing was more unjust.* Upon this the Athenians commanded Themistocles to desist from his intention.

When the Lacedæmonians proposed in the council of the Amphictyons, that those cities which had not taken arms against the Persians, should be excluded from that assembly; Themistocles fearing that if the Thessalians, with those of Thebes, Argos, and others, were thrown out of the council, the Lacedæmonians would become wholly masters of the votes, and act as they pleased, spoke in behalf of those cities, and prevailed with the members then sitting to alter their opinions, remonstrating to them, that there were but one and thirty cities which joined in the war, and that most of

peaceable in their own houses, grew very untractable when assembled upon the Pnyx; and that was the reason, without doubt, which made them discontinue holding assemblies in that place. The thirty tyrants were established at Athens by Lysander, the first year of the ninty-fourth Olympiad, 402 years before the birth of our Saviour.

these

theſe alſo were very ſmall, and how intolerable it would be, if the reſt of Greece ſhould be excluded, and that this auguſt council ſhould come to be ruled by two or three great cities. By this he chiefly incurred the diſpleaſure and hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who afterwards uſed all their intereſt for the advancement of Cimon, that he might be a rival to Themiſtocles in all affairs of ſtate.

He alſo much offended the confederates, by ſailing about the iſlands, and collecting money from them. Herodotus ſays, that requiring money of thoſe of the iſland of Andros, he told them, *that he had brought with him two goddeſſes, Perſuaſion and Force*; and they anſwered him, *that they had alſo two great goddeſſes which prohibited them from giving him any money, Poverty and Impoſſibility.* Timocreon the Rhodian poet reprehends him ſomewhat bitterly, for being wrought upon by money, to let thoſe that were baniſhed return, and for betraying him who had been his gueſt and friend. The verſes are theſe:

Pauſanias's fame let others raiſe,
Leutychidas or bold Xanthippus praiſe;
The worth of Ariſtides I'll proclaim,
The brighteſt glory of th' Athenian name.
Not ſuch the cruel falſe Themiſtocles,
Whoſe monſtrous crimes heav'n with abhorrence ſees.
No gen'rous thought within his boſom glows;
His perfidy too well Timocreon knows,
His friend and gueſt. He promis'd to reſtore
Him hapeleſs exile to his native ſhore.
But gold allures him, and no oaths can bind;
He ſails and leaves that friend and gueſt behind.
For gold alone he kills, or ſaves from fate.
With wealth o'erflowing, and with pride elate,
He gives th' aſſembled Greeks a pompous treat.
They eat his bread, and curſe him while they eat.

But after the condemnation and baniſhment of Themiſtocles,

Themiſtocles, Timocreon reviled him more exceſſively and more reproachfully, in a poem which begins thus:

Muſe, bear this ſong through all the Grecian lands,
And give the glory which my verſe demands.

It is reported, that when it was put to the queſtion, whether Timocreon ſhould be baniſhed for correſponding with the Perſians, Themiſtocles gave his vote againſt him; and when Themiſtocles was accuſed of the ſame crime, Timocreon made theſe verſes upon him.

To one alone the guilt is not confin'd,
To be with Perſian foes in friendſhip join'd.
Beſide Timocreon other knaves we view;
If he's a traitor, theſe are traitors too.

And when the citizens of Athens began to hearken willingly to thoſe who traduced and reproached him, he was forced to put them in mind of the great ſervices he had performed, and aſked thoſe who were offended with him, whether they were weary with receiving benefits often from the ſame perſon; whereby he rendered himſelf more odious. But he more highly incenſed the people, by building a temple to Diana under the name of *Ariſtobule*, or *Diana of the beſt counſel*; intimating thereby, that he had given the beſt counſel not only to the Athenians, but to all Greece. He built this temple near to his own houſe in a place called *Melita*, where now the hangmen carry out the bodies of ſuch as are executed, and throw the halters and cloaths of thoſe that are ſtrangled, or otherwiſe put to death. There is to this day a ſtatue of Themiſtocles in the temple of Diana Ariſtobule, by which it appears that his mind was not more heroical than his perſon and aſpect. At length the Athenians baniſhed him, making uſe of the oſtraciſm to depreſs his great eminence and authority, as they ordinarily did to all

all thoſe whom they thought too powerful, and whoſe greatneſs was become diſproportioned to an equal and popular government. For the oſtraciſm was inſtituted not ſo much to puniſh the offender, as to mitigate and pacify the fury of the envious, who delighted to humble thoſe who were remarkably eminent; and by fixing this diſgrace upon them, they exhaled part of their hatred and reſentment.

Themiſtocles being baniſhed from Athens, while he ſtaid at Argos the trial of Pauſanias happened, which gave great advantage to the enemies of Themiſtocles. Leobotes of Agraula, ſon of Alcmæon, accuſed Pauſanias of treaſon; the Spartans joining with him in the accuſation.

When Pauſanias firſt engaged in this treaſonable deſign, he concealed it from Themiſtocles, though he was his intimate friend: but when he ſaw him expelled the commonwealth, and how impatiently he bore his baniſhment, he ventured to communicate it to him, and deſired his aſſiſtance, ſhowing him the king of Perſia's letters, and exaſperating him againſt the Greeks, as a baſe and ungrateful people. Themiſtocles however rejected the propoſals of Pauſanias, and wholly refuſed to be a party in the enterpriſe, though he never revealed this correſpondence, nor diſcovered the conſpiracy to any man; either expecting that it would be diſcovered by other means, or hoping that Pauſanias would of his own accord deſiſt from thoſe extravagant and impracticable deſigns in which he had inconſiderately engaged.

After Pauſanias was put to death *, letters and writings being found concerning this matter, which rendered Themiſtocles ſuſpected, the Lacedæmo-

* Hearing the Ephori were coming to ſeize him, he fled into the temple of Pallas Chalcioicos, where they beſieged him. They walled up all the gates of the temple, his own mother laying the firſt ſtone. When they had almoſt ſtarved him to death, they ſeized on him, and by that time they had got him out of the temple he expired.

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nians were clamorous againſt him, and the envious Athenians accuſed him. As he was abſent from Athens, he made his defence by letters, eſpecially againſt the chief accuſations; and in anſwer to the malicious detractions of his enemies, urged the improbability that one who was always known to be deſirous of governing, and not formed by nature for ſlavery, ſhould deliver up himſelf and his country into the hands of enemies and barbarians. Notwithſtanding this, the people being perſuaded by his accuſers, ſent officers to take him, and bring him away to be tried before the great council of the Greeks; but having timely notice of it, he paſſed over into the iſland of Corcyra, the chief city of the iſland having received great obligations from him; for being made judge of a difference between them and the Corinthians, he determined the controverſy, ordering the Corinthians to pay twenty talents, and that the iſland of Leucas ſhould be equally inhabited by a colony ſent from both cities *. From thence he fled into Epirus; and the Athenians and Lacedæmonians ſtill purſuing him, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain reſource, by flying for refuge to Admetus king of the Moloſſians, who having formerly made a requeſt to the Athenians, when Themiſtocles was in the height of his authority, had met with ſo rude and diſdainful a denial from him, that the king had openly declared that he only waited for an opportunity of being revenged. Yet, in this misfortune, Themiſtocles fearing the freſh hatred of his neighbours and fellow-citizens, more than the diſpleaſure of

* The ſcholiaſt upon Thucydides mentions a ſervice ſtill more conſiderable. For he ſays, that, after the defeat of Xerxes, the Grecians were diſpoſed to lay ſiege to Corcyra, and puniſh the inhabitants for not joining in the league againſt Xerxes, but that Themiſtocles diſſuaded them from it, alleging, that if they were in that manner to revenge themſelves upon all the cities that had not joined in that league, they would bring greater calamities upon Greece than it had ſuffered from the barbarians.

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the king, which time might have abated, chose to risk the latter, and became an humble suppliant to Admetus. The manner in which he made his request was very singular: for holding the young prince, who was then a child, in his arms, he prostrated himself before the king's household gods; this being the most sacred manner of supplication among the Molossians, and which rarely met with a denial. Some say, that Phthia the queen informed Themistocles of this way of petitioning, and placed her young son near to him, before the figures of their domestic deities. Others say, that King Admetus, that he might be under a religious obligation not to deliver him up to those who persecuted him, contrived this scene, and helped him to act his part. At that time Epicrates of Acarnania privately conveyed the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him; for which afterwards Cimon condmened him, and put him to death. This account is given by Stesimbrotus; yet, either forgetting this or representing Themistocles as forgetting it, he afterwards says that he sailed into Sicily, and desired in marriage the daughter of Hiero the tyrant, promising to bring the Greeks under his power; and that, upon Hiero's refusal, he departed from thence into Asia. But this is not probable; for Theophrastus writes in his treatise on monarchy, that when Hiero sent race-horses to the Olympian games, and erected a royal tent richly furnished, Themistocles made an oration to the Greeks, inciting them to pull down the tyrant's tent, and not to suffer his horses to run. Thucydides says, that he embarked at Pydna, not being known to any one in the ship; till being terrified to see the vessel driven by the winds near to Naxus, which was then besieged by the Athenians, he made himself known to the master and pilot; and by sometimes entreating them, and at other times threatening them, that if they went on shore, he

would accuſe them, and make the Athenians believe, that they did not take him in from ignorance, but that he had corrupted them with money from the beginning, he compelled them to ſtand out to ſea, and ſail forward towards the coaſts of Aſia.

A great part of his eſtate was privately conveyed away by his friends, and ſent after him by ſea into Aſia: beſides which, there was diſcovered and confiſcated to the value of fourſcore talents, as Theophraſtus writes: Theopompus ſays an hundred: whereas he was never worth three talents before he was concerned in the government.

When he arrived at Cuma, and underſtood that all along the coaſt there were many laid wait for him, and particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, (for the game was worth the hunting after by ſuch as purſued gain every where, the king of Perſia having offered by public proclamation two hundred talents to him that ſhould take him), he fled to Ægæ a ſmall city of the Æolians, where no one knew him but only his hoſt Nicogenes, who was the richeſt man in Æolia, and well known in the court of Perſia. Whilſt Themiſtocles lay hid for ſome days in his houſe, one night after a ſacrifical feaſt, Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes's children, in a prophetic rapture uttered this verſe:

Counſel, O night, and victory are thine.

After this, Themiſtocles dreamed that a dragon coiled itſelf round his belly, and creeping up to his neck, as ſoon as it touched his face, was turned into an eagle, which ſpread its wings over him, and took him up, and flew away with him to a diſtant place, where a golden ſceptre appeared to him, upon which he reſted himſelf ſecurely, freed from all fear and trouble. Nicogenes hearing this made uſe of the following invention to convey him from his houſe in ſafety.

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The barbarous nations, and amongſt them the Perſians eſpecially, are naturally jealous, clowniſh, and moroſe toward their women; ſo that not only their wives, but alſo their female ſlaves and concubines are kept with ſuch ſtrictneſs, and ſo conſtantly confined at home, that they are never ſeen by any but their own family; and when they take a journey, they are put into a carriage ſhut cloſe on all ſides. In ſuch a travelling carriage they conveyed Themiſtocles, and told thoſe whom they met or diſcourſed with upon the road, that they were carrying a young Grecian lady out of Ionia to a nobleman at court.

Thucydides and Charon * of Lampaſcus report, that after the death of Xerxes, Themiſtocles came to court when Artaxerxes his ſon was upon the throne †: but Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus ‡, Heraclides, and many others write, that Xerxes was then alive. The opinion of Thucydides agrees beſt with the chronological tables; however they cannot always be relied upon.

Themiſtocles, ſenſible of the extreme difficulties into which he had thrown himſelf, applied firſt to Artabanus ‖, commander of a thouſand men, telling him, that he was a Grecian, and deſired to ſpeak with the king about ſome important affairs,

* Charon wrote the hiſtory of Perſia in two books, and was more ancient than Herodotus.

† Themiſtocles therefore arrived at the Perſian court, in the firſt year of the ſeventy-ninth Olympiad, 462 years before the birth of our Saviour, for that was the firſt year of Artaxerxes's reign. They who affirm he came thither whilſt Xerxes was living, make it earlier by ſeven years. But, as Plutarch ſays, the firſt opinion, which is that of Thucydides, is moſt conformable to the exactneſs of chronology; and it is that which Plutarch always follows, as may be obſerved in the life of Alcibiades. And it appears even from the ſpeech of Themiſtocles to the king in his firſt audience, that it was addreſſed to Artaxerxes, and not to his father.

‡ Clitarchus was the ſon of Dinon, he lived in the time of Alexander, accompanied him in his expedition, and wrote his hiſtory.

‖ The ſon of that Artabanus, captain of the guards, who ſlew Xerxes, and perſuaded Artaxerxes to cut off his elder brother Darius.

which the king had much at heart. Artabanus anſwered him, *Stranger, the laws of men are different, and ſome eſteem one thing honourable and ſome another; but it is honourable for all men to obſerve and commend the laws of their own country. It is allowable for you Grecians to admire liberty and equality; but amongſt our many excellent laws, we account this the moſt glorious, to honour the king, and to worſhip him, as the image of that great Deity who preſerves and ſupports the univerſe; and if you can comply with our laws, and fall down before the king, and worſhip him, you may both ſee him and ſpeak to him; if not, you muſt make uſe of others to intercede for you: for it is not the cuſtom here for the king to give audience to any one that doth not fall down before him.* Themiſtocles hearing this, replied, *Artabanus, I that come hither to increaſe the power and glory of the king, will not only ſubmit myſelf to his laws, ſince this is the will of God, who has raiſed the Perſian empire to this greatneſs, but will alſo cauſe many more to be worſhippers of the king; let not this therefore hinder my communicating to him what I have to impart.* Artabanus aſking him, *Who muſt we tell him that you are? for by your diſcourſe you ſeem to be no ordinary perſon.* Themiſtocles anſwered, *No man muſt be informed of this before the king himſelf.* Thus Phanias relates it; to which Eratoſthenes, in his treatiſe of riches, adds, that it was by the means of a woman of Eretria, who was kept by Artabanus, that Themiſtocles was brought acquainted with him, and obtained this favour from him.

When he was introduced to the king, and had paid his due reverence to him, he ſtood ſilent, till Xerxes commanding the interpreter to aſk him who he was, he replied, *I am Themiſtocles the Athenian, baniſhed and perſecuted by the Greeks; the miſchief I have done to the Perſians is leſs than the ſervice I rendered them in preſerving them from the purſuit of the Greeks; for when I had delivered Greece and ſaved my own country, I thought myſelf at liberty to ſhow my good-*

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will to the Perſians. My ſentiments are ſuited to my preſent fortune; and I come prepared to receive your favours gratefully if you are reconciled to me; if not, to appeaſe your reſentment by my ſubmiſſion. My enemies themſelves are witneſſes of the ſervices I have done for Perſia; and let my misfortunes rather afford you an occaſion of diſplaying your virtue, than of gratifying your anger. Hereby you will preſerve an humble ſuppliant; otherwiſe, you will deſtroy an enemy of the Greeks. He then in more elevated language, as if he had been inſpired by ſome deity, related the viſion which he ſaw at Nicogenes's houſe, and the direction given him by the oracle of Dodona, where Jupiter commanded him to go to him that had a name like his; by which he underſtood, that he was ſent from Jupiter to the king of Perſia, ſince he as well as Jupiter was juſtly ſtyled *The great king*.

Artaxerxes heard him attentively, and though he admired his underſtanding and courage, gave him no anſwer at that time; but when he was with his intimate friends, he congratulated himſelf on this fortunate event, and prayed to his god Arimanius, that all his enemies might be ever of the ſame mind with the Greeks, to baniſh the braveſt men among them. Then he ſacrificed to the gods, and made a feaſt; and was ſo well pleaſed, that in the night, while he was faſt aſleep, he cried out for joy three times, *I have Themiſtocles the Athenian!*

In the morning Xerxes calling together the chief of his court, had Themiſtocles brought before him, who expected no favourable treatment, the guards looking on him with threatening countenances, and loading him with reproaches, as ſoon as they heard his name. As he came forward towards the king, who was ſitting, the reſt keeping ſilence, he paſſed by Roxanes a commander of a thouſand men, whom he heard ſigh and whiſper ſoftly to him, *Thou ſubtle Greek ſerpent, the king's good genius hath brought thee hither.* Yet when he

came before the king, and proſtrated himſelf, the king ſaluted him, and ſpoke to him kindly, telling him, he was now indebted to him two hundred talents; for it was juſt that he ſhould receive the reward which was propoſed to whoſoever ſhould bring Themiſtocles: and promiſing much more, and encouraging him, he commanded him to ſpeak freely what he had to ſay concerning the affairs of Greece. Themiſtocles replied, *that a man's diſcourſe was like a rich piece of tapeſtry, which when ſpread open diſplays the various figures wrought upon it; but when it is folded up, theſe are hidden and loſt* *; *and therefore he deſired time to learn the language perfectly, in which he was to expreſs his mind.* The king being pleaſed with the compariſon, and bidding him take what time he would, he deſired a year; in which time having learned the Perſian language ſufficiently, he ſpoke with the king by himſelf without the help of an interpreter: and thoſe who were at a diſtance, thought that he diſcourſed only about the affairs of Greece. But there happening at the ſame time great alterations at court, and removals of the king's favourites, he drew upon himſelf the envy of the great, who imagined, that he who had this great liberty, might uſe it in ſpeaking concerning them. For the favours ſhown to other ſtrangers were nothing in compariſon of the honours conferred on him; the king inviting him to partake of his own diverſions both at home and abroad, carrying him with him a-hunting, and making him his intimate ſo far, as to permit him not only to come into the preſence of the queen-mother, but alſo to converſe familiarly with her: and beſides this, by the king's command, he was inſtructed in the philoſophy of the Magi.

When Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, being or-

* Themiſtocles ſoon knew how to accommodate himſelf to the manners of the orientals, whoſe way of ſpeaking was always ſymbolical and figurative.

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dered by the king to aſk whatſoever he pleaſed *, deſired the royal diadem, and that being lifted up on high he might be carried in ſtate through the city of Sardis after the manner of the Perſian kings; Mithropauſtes, couſin to Xerxes, taking him by the hand, told him, *that he had no brains for the royal diadem to cover; and if Jupiter ſhould give him his thunder, he would not be the more Jupiter for that.* The king alſo repulſed him with ſcorn and anger, reſolving never to be reconciled to him; yet Themiſtocles pacified his reſentment, and prevailed with him to forgive Demaratus. And it is reported that the ſucceeding kings, in whoſe reigns there was a greater communication between the Greeks and Perſians than formerly, when they invited any conſiderable Grecian into their ſervice, would promiſe him, that he ſhould be in higher favour with them than Themiſtocles was with Artaxerxes. It is ſaid, that Themiſtocles when he was in great proſperity, and courted by many, ſeeing himſelf ſplendidly ſerved at his table, turned to his children, and ſaid, *Children, we had been undone, if we had not been undone.* Moſt writers ſay, that he had three cities given him, Magneſia, Myus, and Lampſacus, to maintain him in bread, meat, and wine †. Neanthes of

* This was the higheſt mark of diſtinction the Perſian kings could confer on thoſe they had a mind to honour. The hiſtory of Mordecai was at that time freſh in mens memory. Ahaſuerus, the ſame with Xerxes the father of Artaxerxes, had not long before ordained, that Mordecai ſhould be arrayed in the royal apparel, that the imperial crown ſhould be ſet upon his head, and that he ſhould be conducted on horſeback through the ſtreets of the city.

† It was cuſtomary with the eaſtern monarchs, inſtead of penſions to aſſign particular cities and provinces for the maintenance of their favourites. A certain queen had all Egypt for her cloathing. Even the taxes raiſed by the kings on the cities and provinces, were under particular aſſignments. One province furniſhed ſo much for wine, another for victuals, a third for the privy-purſe, and a fourth for the wardrobe. In Plato's firſt Alcibiades we read that many of the provinces were appropriated for a ſupply to the queen's wardrobe. One was for her waſte, another for her head, and ſo of the reſt; and each province

of Cyzicus and Phanias add two more, the cities of Percotes and Palæfcepſis to provide him with cloaths, and furniture for his bed.

As he went down towards the ſea-ſide to provide againſt the attempts of the Greeks, a Perſian whoſe name was *Epixyes*, governor of the upper Phrygia, lay in wait to kill him; having for that purpoſe provided a long time before a crew of Piſidian murderers, who were to ſet upon him while he lodged in a city that is called *Leontocephalus*, or *Lion's-head*. But as Themiſtocles was ſleeping in the middle of the day, the mother of the gods appeared to him in a dream, and ſaid to him, *Themiſtocles, avoid the Lion's-head, leſt you fall into the Lion's jaws; for this advice I expect, that your daughter Mneſiptolema ſhould be my ſervant.* Themiſtocles was much aſtoniſhed, and when he had paid his adorations to the goddeſs, he left the great road, and taking a compaſs went another way, changing his intended ſtation to avoid that place, and at night took up his lodging beyond it. But one of the ſumpter-horſes which carried his tent, having fallen that day into a river, his ſervants ſpread out the tapeſtry which was wet, and hung it up to dry. In the mean time the Piſidians made towards them with their ſwords drawn, and not diſcerning exactly by the moon what it was that was ſtretched out to be dried, they thought it was the tent of Themiſtocles, and that they ſhould find him repoſing within it; but when they came nigh, and lifted up the hangings, thoſe who watched there fell upon them, and took them. Themiſtocles having eſcaped this great danger, admired the goodneſs of the goddeſs

vince bore the name of that part of the dreſs it was to furniſh. Artaxerxes aſſigned to Themiſtocles Magneſia for his bread; for lying on the banks of the Mæander, it was the ſoil the moſt fruitful in corn of any in all Aſia. Thucydides ſays Themiſtocles received from it a revenue of fifty talents. Lampſacus, which was famous for its vineyards, was to ſupply him with wine, and Myus with proviſions, in which it abounded, particularly in fiſh, as it lay near to the ſea.

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that appeared to him; and in memory of it he built a temple in the city of Magneſia, which he dedicated to Cybele Dyndimene, and appointed his daughter Mneſiptolema to be the prieſteſs.

When he came to Sardis, he viſited the temples of the gods; and obſerving at his leiſure their buildings, ornaments, and the number of their offerings, he ſaw in the temple of the mother of the gods the ſtatue of a virgin in braſs two cubits high, called *the Water-bringer*. Themiſtocles had cauſed this ſtatue to be made and ſet up when he was ſurveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, out of the fines paid by thoſe whom he had diſcovered to have taken away the water, or to have turned it out of its due courſe; and whether he had ſome regret to ſee this image in captivity, or whether he was deſirous to ſhow the Athenians in what great credit he was with the king, he entered into diſcourſe with the governor of Lydia, to perſuade him to ſend this ſtatue back to Athens; which ſo enraged the Perſian officer, that he told him he would write the king word of it. Themiſtocles being affrighted at this, got acceſs to his wives and concubines, whom he gained with money, and by their means mitigated the fury of the governor. He afterwards behaved more reſervedly and circumſpectly, fearing the envy of the Perſians, and (as Theopompus writes) no longer travelled about Aſia, but lived quietly in his own houſe in Magneſia, where for a long time he paſſed his days in great ſecurity, courted by all, preſented with rich gifts, and honoured equally with the greateſt men in the Perſian empire; the king at that time not minding his concerns with Greece, being inceſſantly buſied about the affairs of the upper provinces.

But upon advice that Egypt, aſſiſted by the Athenians, had revolted, and that the Grecian galleys ſailed up as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and that Cimon had made himſelf maſter of the ſeas, the king

king reſolved to oppoſe the Grecians, and put a ſtop to the growth of their power; he therefore raiſed forces, ſent out commanders, and diſpatched meſſengers to Themiſtocles at Magneſia, to put him in mind of his promiſe, to aſſiſt him againſt the Greeks. But Themiſtocles was not ſo much exaſperated againſt the Athenians, nor ſo much elated with the thoughts of the honour and command he was to have in this war, as to accept of the king's propoſals; but either imagining this undertaking would not be attended with ſucceſs, the Greeks having at that time great commanders, and amongſt them Cimon, who had been remarkably fortunate in war; or chiefly being aſhamed to ſully the glory of his former great actions, and of his many victories, he generouſly determined to conclude his days in a manner ſuitable to the whole courſe of his life *. He ſacrificed to the gods, and invited his friends; and having embraced them, he drank bulls blood †, as is generally reported; but ſome ſay that he ſwallowed a quick poiſon. He ended his days in the city of Magneſia, having lived ſixty-five years, moſt of which he had ſpent in political and military employments. The king being informed of the cauſe and manner of his death, admired him more than ever, and continued to ſhow kindneſs to his friends and relations.

Themiſtocles left three ſons by Archippa daugh-

* Thucydides, who was contemporary with Themiſtocles, is not clear in this point. He ſays no more than this: *Themiſtocles died of a diſtemper. There are ſome who ſay he poiſoned himſelf, deſpairing to perform what he had promiſed to the king.* Notwithſtanding the uncertainty of this report, Plutarch choſe to follow it, that he might give a tragical turn to his hiſtory. It is very likely that he died a natural death, and that the conjuncture of affairs favoured the notion of his having poiſoned himſelf, to get out of the difficulty under which he lay.

† Whilſt they were ſacrificing the bull, he cauſed the blood to be received in a cup, and drank it whilſt it was hot, which is mortal, becauſe it coagulates, or thickens in an inſtant. *Plin. lib.* xi. *cap.* 38. *Taurorum ſanguis celerrime coit atque dureſcit. Ideo peſtifer potu maxime.*

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ter to Lyſander of Alopece, Archeptolis, Polyeuctus, and Cleophantus. Plato the philoſopher mentions the laſt as an excellent horſeman, but worthleſs in all other reſpects. Of his eldeſt ſons Neocles and Diocles, the former died when he was young by the bite of a horſe, and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lyſander. He had many daughters: of theſe Mneſiptolema, whom he had by a ſecond marriage, married Archeptolis, her half-brother; Italia was married to Panthides of the iſland of Scio; Sybaris to Nicomedes the Athenian. After the death of Themiſtocles, his nephew Phraſicles ſet ſail for Magneſia, and married his daughter Nicomacha, receiving her from the hands of her brothers; and brought up her ſiſter Aſia, the youngeſt of all the children.

A ſplendid ſepulchre was erected to him and ſtill remains in the market-place of Magneſia. No credit is to be given to what Andocides * writes to his friends, concerning the relics of Themiſtocles, that the Athenians robbed his tomb, and threw his aſhes into the air; for he feigns this to exaſperate the nobility againſt the people. And when Phylarchus, more like a writer of tragedy than an hiſtorian, introduces two ſons of Themiſtocles by the names of *Neocles* and *Demopolis*, every one muſt ſee this to be a mere fiction deſigned to make his ſtory more intereſting and pathetic. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes in his book of ſepulchres, but by conjecture rather than of his certain knowledge, that near to the haven of Piræus, the land runs out like an elbow from the promontory of Alcimus, and that when you have doubled the cape, and paſſed inward where the ſea is always calm, there is a vaſt foundation, and upon this the tomb of Themiſtocles † in the ſhape of an altar; and

* He was an orator who lived a little later than Themiſtocles. There are extant four of his orations.

† Thucydides ſays, that the bones of Themiſtocles were removed from

and Plato the comedian seems to confirm this in these verses.

The merchant, as he ploughs the wat'ry way,
Shall to thy relics here his homage pay;
A witness these of every hostile feat,
When rival navies near this coast shall meet.

Various honours and privileges were granted to the descendents of Themistocles at Magnesia, which are preserved down to our times. There was one of his name, an Athenian, who enjoyed them in my time, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

from Magnesia by his own appointment, and buried privately in Attica, unknown to the Athenians. For they did not suffer a man that died under the accusation of having betrayed his country to have a public interment. And without doubt this aversion remained upon them a considerable time. But Pausanias extremely favours the opinion of Diodorus the geographer; for he says that the Athenians repented of their severity towards Themistocles; that they suffered his bones to be removed from Magnesia by his relations; that his children consecrated in the Parthenon a piece of painting representing this history, in which Themistocles was drawn to the life, and that his monument was to be seen even in his days near the haven of Piræus.

THE

THE LIFE OF F. CAMILLUS.

AMong the many remarkable things that are related of Furius Camillus, this ſeems moſt extraordinary, that he who was ſo often in the higheſt commands, and had performed the greateſt actions, was five times choſen dictator, triumphed four times, and was ſtyled a *ſecond founder of Rome*, yet never was once conſul. The reaſon of this was the ſtate and temper of the commonwealth at that time: for the people being at diſſenſion with the ſenate, refuſed to elect conſuls, and in their ſtead choſe other magiſtrates called *military tribunes*; whoſe power, though equal to that of the conſuls, was yet leſs grievous to the people, becauſe they were more in number: for to have the management of affairs intruſted to ſix perſons rather than two, was ſome eaſe and ſatisfaction to thoſe who could not endure the dominion of a few. This was the condition of the times when Camillus flouriſhed in the height of his glory and ſucceſs; and although the government in the mean time had often held aſſemblies wherein they might have proceeded to conſular elections *, yet he was not willing to be made conſul, againſt the inclination of the people. In

* He means the comitia centuriata, in which the principal magiſtrates were always appointed.

all his other adminiſtrations, which were many and various, he behaved in ſuch a manner, that when he was intruſted with the ſole power, he ſhared the authority with others, but the glory was all his own, even when others were joined in the command with him: the former was owing to his moderation, in commanding without pride or inſolence; the latter, to his great judgment and wiſdom, wherein without queſtion he had no equal. The family of the Furii * was not at that time very conſiderable; he was the firſt that raiſed himſelf to honour, when he ſerved under Poſthumius Tubertus the dictator, in the great battle againſt the Æqui and Volſci †. For riding out before the reſt of the army, and in the charge receiving a wound in his thigh, he notwithſtanding did not give over the fight, but plucking out the dart that ſtuck in the wound, and engaging with the braveſt of the enemy, he put them to flight. For this action, among other rewards beſtowed on him, he was created cenſor ‡, an office in thoſe days of great honour and authority ‖. During his cenſorſhip one very good act of his is

* *Furius* was the family-name. *Camillus* was a ſurname uſually given to children of quality, who had miniſtered for ſome time in the temple. Camillus was the firſt who retained that name.

† In the year of Rome 324, the laſt year of the eighty-ſeventh Olympiad. Camillus muſt have been at leaſt fourteen or fifteen years of age at that time.

‡ That is, this action ſerved in time to get him advanced to that office; for it is not to be imagined that the Romans would intruſt an office of that importance to a youth of his age. And it accordingly appears that Camillus was cenſor with Marcus Poſthumius the firſt year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, in the year of Rome 353, twenty-nine years after this action againſt the Æqui and Volſci.

‖ Plutarch ſays it was in thoſe days of great honour and authority; becauſe it declined much under the adminiſtration of the firſt emperors, who in the end ſunk it quite, by making themſelves maſters of it. This poſt was ſo conſiderable, that it had greater privileges annexed to it than the conſulate. The cenſors were the guardians of the Roman manners and diſcipline, and a ſort of viſitors of the order of the knights, and of the ſenate, and in ſhort had the fortune of the whole city at their diſpoſal.

recorded;

recorded; the wars having made many widows, he obliged ſuch as had no wives, ſome by perſuaſion, others by threatening to ſet fines on their heads, to take them in marriage *. Another neceſſary action, was cauſing orphans to be rated, who before were exempted from taxes; the continual wars requiring more than ordinary expenſes to maintain them. But that which preſſed the Romans moſt was the ſiege of Veii, the inhabitants of which are by ſome called *Venetani*. This was the chief city of Tuſcany, and not inferior to Rome, either for the quantity of arms or numbers of ſoldiers it could furniſh; proud of her wealth, magnificence, and luxury, ſhe had fought many great battles with the Romans, contending for glory and empire. But now ſhe had quitted her former ambition, having been weakened by many conſiderable defeats; and the inhabitants having fortified themſelves with high and ſtrong walls, and furniſhed the city with arms offenſive and defenſive, as likewiſe with corn and all manner of proviſions, they cheerfully endured the ſiege, which, though tedious to them, was no leſs troubleſome and vexatious to the beſiegers. For the Romans having never been accuſtomed to keep the field long even in ſummer-time, and uſed conſtantly to winter at home, were then firſt compelled by the tribunes to build forts in the enemy's country; and raiſing ſtrong works about their camp, to join winter and ſummer together. And now the ſeventh year of the war drawing to an end, the commanders began to be ſuſpected of remiſſneſs in carrying on the ſiege; ſo that they were diſcharged, and others choſen for the war, among whom was Camillus, then for the ſecond time tribune †. But at preſent he had no concern in the ſiege, his lot

* For the cenſors had a power to conſtrain thoſe to marry that were bachelors. *Cœlibes eſſe prohibento.* Cicer.

† The firſt year of the ninety-ſixth Olympiad; the year of Rome 357.

being to make war upon the Faliſci and Capenates; who, taking the advantage while the Romans were engaged with other enemies, had ravaged their country, and haraſſed them during all the Tuſcan war; but they were now reduced by Camillus, and, after ſuffering great loſſes, ſhut up within their walls.

During the heat of the war an accident happened to the Alban lake, which may be reckoned among the moſt ſtrange and unaccountable prodigies; and as no common and natural cauſe could be aſſigned for it, it occaſioned great conſternation. It was the beginning of autumn, and the ſummer before had neither been very rainy, nor remarkably infeſted with ſouthern winds; and of the many lakes, brooks, and ſprings of all ſorts with which Italy abounds, ſome were wholly dried up, others retained very little water, and all the rivers, as they conſtantly uſed in ſummer, ran in a very low and hollow channel. But the Alban lake, which has no communication with any other water, being entirely ſurrounded with mountains, began without any cauſe (unleſs it were a ſupernatural one) to riſe and ſwell in a very remarkable manner, increaſing to the feet of the mountains, and by degrees reaching to the very tops of them, and all this without any violent agitation of its waves. At firſt it was the wonder of ſhepherds and herdſmen only; but when the earth, which like a great dam held up the lake from falling into the lower grounds, by the quantity and weight of water was broken down, and the torrent ran through the ploughed fields and plantations, to diſcharge itſelf into the ſea, it not only ſtruck terror into the Romans, but was thought by all the inhabitants of Italy to portend ſome extraordinary event. But the greateſt talk of it was in the camp before Veii, ſo that at laſt it came to be known likewiſe to the beſieged. As in long ſieges it is uſual for perſons of both ſides to meet

and

and converſe with one another, it happened that a Roman had contracted an acquaintance with one of the citizens, a man well verſed in ancient learning, and who was reputed to have a more than ordinary ſkill in divination *. The Roman obſerving that he was overjoyed at the ſtory of the lake, and laughed at the ſiege, told him *this was not the only prodigy that of late had happened to the Romans, but that there had been others more wonderful than this, which he was willing to communicate to him, that he might the better provide for his private affairs amidſt the public confuſion.* The man greedily embraced the motion, expecting to hear ſome wonderful ſecrets: but the Roman, when by degrees he had engaged his attention, and inſenſibly drawn him a good way from the gates of the city, ſnatched him up in his arms, being ſtronger than he, and, by the aſſiſtance of others that came running from the camp, ſecured him, and delivered him to the commanders †. The man reduced to this neceſſity, and knowing that deſtiny is not to be avoided, diſcovered to them what the oracles had declared concerning the fate of his country; *that it was not poſſible the city ſhould be taken, until the Alban lake, which now broke forth and had found new paſſages, was drawn back from that courſe, and ſo diverted, that it could not mingle with the ſea.* The ſenate having heard and deliberated of the matter, decreed to ſend to Delphi to aſk counſel of Apollo. The meſſengers were perſons of the greateſt quality, Coſſus Licinius, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambuſtus; who having performed their voyage, and conſulted the God, returned with this among other anſwers, *that there had been a neglect of*

* He was a profeſſed ſoothſayer. Tuſcany abounded with ſuch ſort of people, which was owing to the extreme ſuperſtition of the country. Cicero in his firſt book *de divinatione* ſays, that this man was a perſon of quality, *hominem nobilem.*

† He carried him to the general, and the general ſent him to Rome, there to be interrogated before the ſenate.

ſome of their country-rites relating to the Latin feaſts *. As for the Alban water, the oracle commanded, *that, if it was poſſible, they ſhould bring it back from the ſea, and ſhut it up in its ancient bounds; but if that was not to be done, they ſhould draw it off into canals and trenches in the lower ground, and ſo dry it up.* Which meſſage being delivered, the prieſts performed what related to the ſacrifices, and the people went to work, and turned the courſe of the water.

And now the ſenate in the tenth year of the war, taking away all other commands, created Camillus dictator †, who choſe Cornelius Scipio for his general of horſe; and in the firſt place he made vows to the gods, that if they would grant a happy concluſion of the war, he would celebrate to their honour the great ſports ‡, and rebuild the temple of the goddeſs whom the Romans call *Matuta the mother* ‖; the ſame with Leucothoe, if a judgment may be made of it from the ceremonies uſed in her ſacrifices; for leading † a female ſlave into the ſecret

* Theſe feaſts, eſtabliſhed by Tarquin the Proud, were celebrated by all the people of Latium, who aſſembled for that purpoſe on the Alban mount, every one carrying his proportion to the general contribution. The Romans preſided at the ſacrifice wherein a bull was offered to Jupiter Latialis, and all the people eat of it. If every one had not his ſhare in the bull, or if the leaſt circumſtance in the ritual was omitted, the whole was void, and they were to begin the ſacrifice anew. Theſe feaſts were ſo important, that it was not lawful for the conſuls to ſet out upon any expedition before they had celebrated them. At firſt they held only one day, then two, afterwards three, and at laſt they came to be continued for four days together.

† This happened in the third year of the ninety-ſixth Olympiad, in the year of Rome 359. Camillus might then be about fifty years of age.

‡ That is, the Roman games, which, properly ſpeaking, were a ſort of tournament performed in the circus, for which reaſon they were likewiſe called *Magni Circenſes*. They were eſtabliſhed originally by Tarquinius Priſcus, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. They were celebrated on the fourth of September, and held for nine days together.

‖ This temple was originally built by Servius Tullius. Matuta was the ſame with Leucothoe, or Ino, the ſiſter of Semele, Bacchus's mother.

† Ino became ſo implacably jealous of one of her female ſlaves, with whom ſhe perceived her huſband was in love, that ſhe hated all the

cret part of the temple, they there buffet her, and then drive her out again: they carry in their arms their brothers children, not their own, and offer them to the goddeſs*; and repreſent in the ſacrifices the ſtory of Bacchus's nurſes, and what Ino ſuffered from the jealouſy of Juno, who was incenſed againſt her, for having nurſed the ſon of her rival. Camillus having made theſe vows, marched into the country of the Faliſci, and in a great battle overthrew them, and the Capenates their confederates. Afterwards he turned to the ſiege of Veii, and finding that to take it by aſſault would prove a difficult and hazardous attempt, he dug mines under ground, (the earth about the city being eaſy to break up), allowing as much depth as would be ſufficient for carrying on the works, without being diſcovered by the enemy. This deſign going on with a good proſpect of ſucceſs, he ordered a general aſſault to be made upon the city, in order to draw the beſieged to the walls, whilſt a certain number of the ſoldiers paſſing under ground without being perceived, got within the caſtle, under the temple of Juno, which was the greateſt and moſt celebrated in all the city. It is reported, that the prince of the Tuſcans was at that very time ſacrificing, and that the prieſt, after he had looked into the entrails of the beaſt, cried out with a loud voice, that *the gods would give the victory to them who ſhould finiſh theſe ſacrifices*; and that the Romans who

the reſt for her ſake. For which reaſon the Romans, when they had deified her, thought they could not worſhip her more acceptably than by eſpouſing her reſentments; therefore in their ſacrifices to her they forbid all ſlaves admiſſion into her temple, only they ſuffered one to enter, who repreſented Athamas's miſtreſs, and when they had ſoundly buffeted her, they turned her out again.

* Ion had been a very unhappy mother; for ſhe had ſeen her ſon Learchus ſlain by her huſband Athamas, and had thrown herſelf headlong into the ſea with her other ſon Melicertes. But ſhe had been a more fortunate aunt, for ſhe had preſerved Bacchus, the ſon of her ſiſter Semele; for which reaſon the Roman matrons offered to her their brothers, or their ſiſters children, and not their own.

were

were in the mines hearing theſe words, immediately broke open the floor, and aſcending with noiſe and claſhing of weapons, frighted away the enemy, and ſnatching up the entrails carried them to Camillus. But this may perhaps be thought a fable. The city being taken by ſtorm, and the ſoldiers buſy in pillaging and carrying off a vaſt quantity of rich plunder, Camillus from the caſtle viewing what was done, at firſt wept for pity; and when they who ſtood near him congratulated him on his ſucceſs, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and broke out into this prayer. *Moſt mighty Jupiter, and ye gods who are judges of good and evil actions; ye know that not without juſt cauſe, but conſtrained by neceſſity, we have revenged ourſelves on the city of our unjuſt and implacable enemies. But if, in the viciſſitude of things, there be any calamity due, to countervail this great felicity, I pray that it may be diverted from the city and army of the Romans, and, with as little hurt as may be *, fall upon my own head.* Having ſaid theſe words, and juſt turning about (as the cuſtom of the Romans is to turn to the right when they worſhip or pray) he fell down. While thoſe who were preſent were ſurpriſed and concerned at the accident, he recovering himſelf from the fall, told them, that, according to his prayer, † a ſmall

* Livy, who has inſerted this prayer in his hiſtory, has not qualified it with that modification ſo unworthy of Camillus, ἐλαχίστῳ κακῷ, *with as little hurt as may be.* It is no ſurpriſing proof of our virtue to requeſt of the gods to throw on us ſome ſlight misfortune in order to avert the greateſt calamities from our country. A man with a moderate ſhare of patriotiſm may do as much. Plutarch not being well ſkilled in the Roman language, probably miſtook the ſenſe of Livy.

† This was a ſmall misfortune indeed, and a very eaſy compoſition. It is certain that the Heathens were very careful either to accompliſh or evade the oracles and menaces of their gods by favourable, though generally far-fetched applications. However it is very unlikely that a man of Camillus's years and gravity would venture to expoſe himſelf in ſuch a manner before ſo many people, who, ſuperſtitious as they were, could not have forborn ridiculing ſo trifling a circumſtance.

ſmall miſchance had happened to him to counterbalance the greateſt good fortune.

Having ſacked the city, he reſolved, agreeably to his vow, to carry Juno's image to Rome; and the workmen being ready for that purpoſe, he ſacrificed to the goddeſs, and made his ſupplications, that ſhe would be pleaſed to approve of their devotion toward her, and graciouſly accept of a place among the gods who preſided at Rome: they ſay, that the ſtatue anſwered in a low voice, *That ſhe was ready and willing to go.* Livy writes, that in praying, Camillus touched the goddeſs, and invited her; and that ſome of the ſtanders-by cried out, *that ſhe was willing.* The opinion of thoſe who contend moſt for the truth of this miracle, is not a little confirmed by the wonderful fortune of that city, which, from a ſmall and contemptible beginning, attained to ſuch greatneſs and power as it could never have done, without thoſe many remarkable interpoſitions of heaven which on all occaſions appeared in its behalf. Beſides, they produce other wonders of the like nature, as the frequent ſweating of ſtatues; ſome, it is ſaid, have been heard to groan; ſome have ſhown their diſpleaſure by turning their faces aſide, others their approbation by a kind look, as many writers before our times have related; and we ourſelves could mention many wonderful things which we have heard from men of our own time, which are not lightly to be rejected. To give too eaſy credit to ſuch things, or wholly to diſbelieve them, is equally dangerous, on account of the infirmity of human nature; for from the want of ſelf-government, and the difficulty of fixing juſt bounds to the affections, ſome fall into the moſt abject ſu-

ſtance. This ſtory is a continuation of the preceding miſtake. It is ſurpriſing that Plutarch ſhould chuſe rather to father ſo childiſh a ſentiment upon Camillus, than to follow Livy, who tells us, that in time the event made it conjectured that this fall of Camillus was a preſage of his condemnation and baniſhment.

perſtition;

perſtition, while others deſpiſe and neglect all religion: but it is beſt to uſe caution, and avoid extremes.

Camillus being elated either by the glory of having taken a city that was competitor with Rome, and had held out a ten years ſiege, or by the flattery of thoſe that were about him, aſſumed to himſelf more than became a civil and legal magiſtrate. Among other things was the pride and haughtineſs of his triumph; he was carried through Rome in a chariot drawn with four white horſes, no general either before or ſince having done the like; for the Romans eſteem that carriage to be ſacred and peculiar to the king and father of the gods. This alienated the hearts of the citizens from him, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch an appearance of pride and grandeur. Another occaſion of diſguſt, was his oppoſing the law by which the city was to be divided; for the tribunes of the people propoſed a law, that the people and ſenate ſhould each be divided into two parts, one of which ſhould remain at home, the other, as the lot ſhould determine it, remove to the new-taken city; by which means they would not only have much more room, but by being in poſſeſſion of two conſiderable cities be better able to maintain their territories, and ſecure the reſt of their fortunes from any attempts of their enemies. The people therefore, who were now grown rich and numerous, greedily embraced this propoſal, and aſſembling continually in the Forum in a tumultuous manner demanded to have it put to the vote. But the ſenate and the moſt conſiderable of the citizens ſaw with great uneaſineſs the proceedings of the tribunes, which tended, as they thought, rather to the deſtruction than the diviſion of Rome; and they applied to Camillus for aſſiſtance; who, fearing the event if the affair ſhould be ſubmitted to the votes of the people, contrived to delay the paſſing of the law by continually inventing new objections

jections and difficulties. By these things he became unpopular. But the greatest and most apparent cause of the people's hatred against him, arose from the tenths of the spoil, the multitude having herein, if not a just, yet a plausible pretence against him. For it seems, as he went to the siege of Veii, he had vowed to Apollo, that if he took the city, he would dedicate to him the tenth of the spoil. The city being taken and sacked, whether he was loath to disoblige the soldiers at that time, or whether through multitude of business he had forgotten his vow, he suffered them to enjoy that part of the spoils also. Some time afterwards, when his authority was laid down, he brought the matter before the senate; and the priests at the same time reported from the sacrifices, that the anger of the gods was portended, and that they were not to be appeased without expiation and offerings. The senate decreed the obligation to be in force. But as it was difficult for every one to produce the very same things he had taken, to be divided anew, they ordained that every one upon oath should bring into the public the tenth part of his gain. This seemed very severe and oppressive, that the soldiers, who were poor men, and had endured so much labour in the war, should be forced, out of what they had gained and spent, to bring in so great a proportion. Camillus being distressed by their clamour and tumults, for want of a better excuse, betook himself to the meanest of defences, by confessing he had forgotten his vow; but they complained, that he who then vowed the tenth of the enemy, now levied it out of the tenth of the citizens. Nevertheless, every one having brought in his proportion, it was decreed, that out of it a bowl of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But there was great scarcity of gold in the city; and when the magistrates were considering where to get it, the Roman ladies meeting together, and consulting among

mong themſelves, out of the golden ornaments they wore, contributed as much as was neceſſary for the offering, which weighed eight talents. The ſenate, to give them the honour they had deſerved, ordained that funeral orations ſhould be uſed at the interment of women, as well as of men; it having never before been a cuſtom that any woman after death ſhould be publicly praiſed. Chuſing out therefore three of the chief of the nobility for ambaſſadors, they ſent them in a large veſſel well manned, and ſumptuouſly adorned. In this voyage they were equally endangered by a ſtorm and a calm; but when they were at the very brink of deſtruction, they eſcaped beyond all expectation. For near the Æolian iſlands, the wind ſlackening, the galleys of the Lipareans came upon them, taking them for pirates. But when they held up their hands in a ſuppliant manner, the Lipareans forbore violence, and only towed their ſhip into the harbour, where they expoſed to ſale their goods and perſons, adjudging them to be lawful prize. But by the virtue and intereſt of one man, *Timaſitheus* by name, who was governor of that place, and uſed his utmoſt perſuaſion, they were with difficulty diſmiſſed. Beſides, he himſelf joined ſome of his own veſſels with them, to accompany them in their voyage, and aſſiſt them at the dedication: for which ſuitable honours were paid him at Rome *.

And now the tribunes of the people again reſuming the law about the diviſion of the city, the war againſt the Faliſci luckily broke out, which enabled the nobility to manage the election of magiſtrates according to their own pleaſure; they therefore nominated Camillus military tribune, with five other aſſociates; affairs then requiring a commander of authority and reputation, and one well experienced

* The ſenate decreed, that the right of hoſpitality ſhould be eſtabliſhed between him and the Romans, and made him preſents at the public charge.

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in war. When the people had confirmed this nomination by their votes, Camillus marched with his forces into the territories of the Faliſci, and beſieged Falerii a well-fortified city, and plentifully ſtored with all neceſſaries for war. And though he perceived it would require no ſmall labour and time to make himſelf maſter of it, yet he was willing to exerciſe the citizens, and keep them in action abroad, that they might have no leiſure to raiſe ſeditions at home. This remedy the Romans conſtantly uſed, like good phyſicians, throwing out thoſe violent humours that would otherwiſe diſorder the commonwealth. The Falerians, truſting to the ſtrength of their city, which was well fortified on all ſides, made ſo little account of the ſiege, that except thoſe who guarded the walls, the reſt, as in times of peace, walked the ſtreets in their common habits. The boys went to ſchool, and were led by their maſter to walk and exerciſe about the town-walls; for the Falerians, like the Grecians, uſed one public ſchool, that their children being brought up together, might betimes learn to converſe and be familiar with one another.

This ſchoolmaſter deſigning to betray the Falerians by means of their children, led them out every day under the town-wall; at firſt but a little way, and when they had exerciſed, brought them home again. Afterwards by degrees he drew them further and further, till by practice he had made them bold and fearleſs, as if no danger was near them. At laſt, having got them all together, he brought them to the out-guard of the Romans, and delivered them up, demanding to be led to Camillus. When he was brought before him, he ſaid, *That he was the maſter and teacher of thoſe children, but preferring his favour before all other obligations, he was come to deliver up his charge to him, and in that the whole city.* When Camillus had heard him out, he was ſtruck with horror at ſo treacherous an act;

and turning to the ſtanders-by, he ſaid, *How terrible a thing is war, which is the cauſe of ſo much injuſtice and violence! But to good men there are certain laws even in war itſelf; and victory is not ſo eagerly to be purſued as to incur the reproach of having gained it by baſe and unworthy actions; for it becomes a good general to rely on his own virtue, and not on the treachery of others.* He then commanded his officers to tear off the traitor's cloaths, to bind his hands behind him, and give the boys rods and ſcourges, to puniſh him, and drive him back to the city. By this time the Falerians were acquainted with the treachery of the ſchoolmaſter; and the city, as was natural in ſuch a calamity, was filled with lamentations and cries, the principal inhabitants, both men and women, running diſtractedly about the walls and gates; when they beheld the boys come whipping their maſter on, naked and bound, calling Camillus their ſaviour, their god, their father; inſomuch that it ſtruck not only the parents, but the reſt of the citizens who ſaw what was done, with ſuch an admiration and love of Camillus's juſtice, that immediately running into council, they ſent ambaſſadors to him, to reſign whatever they had to his diſpoſal. Camillus ſent them to Rome, where being brought into the ſenate, they ſpoke to this purpoſe: *That the Romans, preferring juſtice before victory, had taught them rather to embrace ſubmiſſion than liberty; for they could not think that they were ſo much inferior in ſtrength, as they confeſſed themſelves to be in virtue.* The ſenate remitted the management of the whole affair to Camillus, who taking a ſum of money of the Falerians, and making a peace with the whole nation of the Faliſci, returned home. But the ſoldiers, who expected to have had the pillage of the city, when they came to Rome empty-handed, railed againſt Camillus among their fellow-citizens, as a hater of the people, and one that maliciouſly oppoſed the intereſt of the poor. Afterwards, when the tribunes

bunes of the people again propoſed the law for dividing the city, Camillus, of all others, moſt openly appeared againſt it, ſparing no pains, but inveighing with all boldneſs againſt the promoters of it; ſo that by his authority he perſuaded the people, even againſt their inclinations, to reject the law. But the people inwardly hated him for it, as ſoon after appeared; for though a great misfortune befel him in his family, (one of his ſons dying of a diſeaſe), yet the commiſeration of his caſe did not in the leaſt abate their malice. And indeed he grieved immoderately for this loſs, being a man naturally of a mild and tender diſpoſition; and even the very day the accuſation was preferred againſt him, he kept his houſe, and was ſhut up a cloſe mourner with the women. His accuſer was Lucius Apuleius; the crime fraud in the Tuſcan ſpoils: and accordingly it was given out, that there were found with him certain braſs gates, part of thoſe ſpoils. The people were exaſperated againſt him, and it was plain they would take hold of the leaſt pretence to condemn him. Wherefore aſſembling his friends and fellow-ſoldiers, and ſuch as had bore command with him, a conſiderable number in all, he beſought them, that they would not ſuffer him to be unjuſtly cruſhed under falſe accuſations, and to be made the ſcorn of his enemies. His friends having conſulted among themſelves, made anſwer, That as to the ſentence, they did not ſee how they could help him, but that they would contribute to pay whatſoever fine ſhould be ſet upon him. Not being able to endure ſo great an indignity, he reſolved in his anger to leave the city, and go into exile. Wherefore having taken leave of his wife and ſon *, he went ſilently to the gate of the city, where making a ſtand, and turning himſelf about, he ſtretched out

* This was four years after the reduction of Falerii, the firſt year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad, and of Rome 365.

his hands to the capitol, and prayed to the gods, *That if without any fault of his own, but merely through the malice and violence of the people, he was driven into baniſhment, the Romans might quickly have cauſe to repent of it; and that all mankind might viſibly perceive that they needed his aſſiſtance, and longed for his return.* Thus like Achilles, having left his imprecations on the citizens, he went into baniſhment; ſo that neither appearing, or making defence, he was condemned in the ſum of fifteen thouſand aſſes, which reduced to ſilver, made a thouſand five hundred drachma's; for an as was in value the tenth part of a ſilver coin, which for that reaſon was called a *denarius*. There is no Roman who does not believe that theſe curſes of Camillus were followed by a ſpeedy judgment from heaven, and that for the injuſtice done to him, he received an ample revenge, rather indeed matter of grief, than of ſatisfaction to him, yet ſuch as, while the fame of it was univerſally ſpread, proved the means of greatly increaſing his glory: for ſuch vengeance fell upon the city of Rome, and ſuch diſmal times ſucceeded, as brought with them all manner of dangers, deſolation, and diſgrace. Perhaps this was merely the work of fortune; perhaps alſo there is ſome god *, whoſe office it is to take care that ingratitude ſhall not oppreſs virtue with impunity. The firſt token that ſeemed to threaten ſome miſchief to enſue, was the death of Julius the cenſor †; for the Romans have a religious reverence for the office of a cenſor, and eſteem it ſacred. The ſecond was, that juſt before Camillus

* It was the goddeſs Nemeſis, to whom the ancients aſcribed the care or office of puniſhing evil actions, particularly pride and ingratitude.

† Upon the death of Julius they named Marcus Cornelius to ſucceed him; but ever after when a cenſor happened to die in his office, they religiouſly forbore naming another in his place, becauſe ſoon after this the city was taken. Nay, they were ſo ſcrupulous in that particular, that they obliged the other cenſor to quit his dignity upon the death of his colleague, whenever that happened.

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went into exile, Marcus Cedicius, a perſon of no great quality, nor of ſenatorial rank, but eſteemed a man of probity and veracity, reported to the military tribunes a thing worthy their conſideration. He ſaid, that walking the night before in that ſtreet called the *new way*, he was called upon by a loud voice; that upon turning about, he ſaw no one, but heard a voice more than human uttering theſe words: *Go, Marcus Cedicius, and early in the morning tell the military tribunes that ſuddenly they are to expect the Gauls.* But the tribunes laughed at the ſtory; and Camillus's diſgrace followed ſoon after.

The Gauls are deſcended originally from the Celtæ *, and are reported by reaſon of their vaſt numbers to have left their country, which was not able to maintain them all, and to have gone in ſearch of other more fertile places. And being many thouſands of them young men and able to bear arms, and carrying with them a greater number of women and young children, ſome of them paſſing the Riphæan mountains, went towards the northern ocean, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the extreme parts of Europe; others ſettling between the Pyrenæan mountains and the Alps, for a long time lived near the Senones and Celtorii †. But afterwards taſting of the wine which was then firſt brought them out of Italy, they were all ſo much delighted with the liquor, and tranſported with this new pleaſure, that ſnatching up their arms, and taking their parents along with them, they marched directly to the Alps to find out that country which yielded ſuch fruit, eſteeming all others barren and unpleaſant. He that firſt brought wine among them, and chiefly inſtigated them to invade Italy, is

* The ancients called all the inhabitants of the weſt and north, as far as Scythia, by the common name of *Celtæ*. *Strab. lib.* 1.

† The country of the Senones contained Sens, Auxerre, and Troyes, as far up as Paris. It is not known who the Celtorii were. Ortelius thinks there is an error in the text. *Vid. Liv. lib.* 5. *c.* 34. 35.

ſaid to have been one Arron a Tuſcan, a man of noble extraction, by nature not ill-diſpoſed, but who had received this ſignal provocation. He was guardian to an orphan, one of the richeſt of that country, and much admired for his beauty, named *Lucumo*; from his childhood he had been bred up with Arron in his family, and being now grown up, he ſtill continued in the houſe, pretending to take great delight in his converſation. This gave him an opportunity of debauching the wife of Arron; and for a conſiderable time they kept ſecret the criminal intercourſe which ſubſiſted between them. But when the paſſion of both was grown ſo violent, that they could neither reſtrain their luſt, nor conceal it, the young man attempted to carry her off by force, intending to live with her publicly. The huſband endeavoured to obtain a legal ſatisfaction; but being overpowered by the intereſt and wealth of Lucumo, left his own country; and having heard ſome account of the Gauls, went to them, and was the conducter of that expedition into Italy. At their firſt coming they poſſeſſed themſelves of all that country which reaches from the Alps to both the ſeas. That this was anciently inhabited by the Tuſcans, appears from the names themſelves; for the Adriatic ſea which lies to the north, is ſo called from the Tuſcan city Adria, and that which lies on the other ſide to the ſouth is called *the Tuſcan ſea*. All the country is well planted with trees, has pleaſant and rich paſtures, and is well watered with rivers. It contained eighteen large cities well ſituated for trade, and for obtaining all the accommodations and pleaſures of life. The Gauls driving out the Tuſcans, took poſſeſſion of them; but theſe things were done long before.

The Gauls at this time were beſieging Cluſium, a Tuſcan city. The Cluſians applied to the Romans for ſuccour, deſiring them to ſend letters and ambaſſadors to the Barbarians. There were ſent three

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of the family of the Fabii, who were among the moſt illuſtrious in the city. The Gauls received them courteouſly, from reſpect to the name of *Rome*; and deſiſting from the aſſault which was then making upon the walls, came to a conference with them. When the ambaſſadors aſked what injury they had received of the Cluſians, that they thus invaded their city? Brennus, king of the Gauls, ſmiling, made anſwer, *The Cluſians do us injury, in that, being able to till only a ſmall parcel of ground, they poſſeſs a great territory, and will not communicate any part to us, who are ſtrangers, many in number, and poor. In the ſame manner, O Romans, formerly the Albans, Fidenates, and Ardeates, and now lately the Veians and Capenates, and many of the Faliſci and Volſci did you injury; upon whom you make war if they do not yield you part of what they poſſeſs, you make ſlaves of them, waſte and ſpoil their country, and ruin their cities; neither in ſo doing are you cruel or unjuſt, but follow that moſt ancient of all laws, which gives the poſſeſſions of the feeble to the ſtrong; for ſo it is from God himſelf, down to the beaſts; nature teaching all theſe that the ſtronger is to take advantage of the weaker. Ceaſe therefore to pity the Cluſians whom we beſiege, leſt you teach the Gauls to be kind and compaſſionate to thoſe that are oppreſſed by you.* The Romans perceiving by this anſwer, that Brennus was not to be treated with, went into Cluſium, and encouraged the inhabitants to make a ſally with them upon the Barbarians; which they did either to try the ſtrength of the Cluſians, or to ſhow their own. The ſally being made, and the fight growing hot about the walls, one of the Fabii, Quintus Ambuſtus, ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, rode full againſt a Gaul of huge bulk and ſtature, whom he ſaw advanced a great diſtance from the reſt. At firſt he was not known, through the ſharpneſs of the encounter, and the glittering of his armour, which hindered the ſight of him; but when he had killed the Gaul, and was going

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to ſtrip him of his arms, Brennus knew him, and invoking the gods to be witneſſes, that contrary to the known and common law of nations, which is religiouſly obſerved by all mankind, he who came as an ambaſſador, had committed acts of hoſtility, he drew off his men, and bidding the Cluſians farewell, led his army directly to Rome. But not being willing it ſhould appear that he took advantage of an injury done by a particular perſon, and was ready to embrace any ſlight occaſion of quarrel, he ſent an herald to demand the offender in order to puniſh him; and in the mean time marched leiſurely on. The herald being arrived at Rome, and the ſenate aſſembled, among many others that ſpoke againſt the Fabii, the prieſts called *feciales* were the moſt violent proſecutors; who repreſenting the action as an offence againſt religion, adviſed the ſenate to lay the whole guilt and expiation of it upon him that committed it, as the beſt means of averting the anger of the gods from the reſt of the city. Theſe feciales, Numa Pompilius, the mildeſt and juſteſt of kings, conſtituted the conſervators of peace, and the judges and determiners of all cauſes for which war might juſtifiably be made. The ſenate referring the whole matter to the people, the prieſts there as well as in the ſenate pleaded againſt Fabius; but the multitude paid ſo little regard to their religious ſcruples, that, in contempt of them, they choſe Fabius and the reſt of his brethren military tribunes. The Gauls hearing this, were greatly enraged, and would no longer delay their march, but haſtened on with all ſpeed. Their fury and impetuoſity, their prodigious numbers and vaſt preparations, ſo terrified the inhabitants of the places through which they marched, that they began to look upon their lands as already loſt, not doubting but their cities would quickly follow; but, contrary to expectation, the Gauls did no injury in their march, nor committed any acts of hoſtility in

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the countries they paſſed through; and when they went by any city, they cried out, *That they were going to Rome; that the Romans only were their enemies, and that they took all others for their friends.* Whilſt the Barbarians were ruſhing on with ſuch violence, the military tribunes brought the Romans into the field, who were not inferior to the Gauls in number, (for they were no leſs than forty thouſand foot), but moſt of them raw ſoldiers, and ſuch as had never handled a weapon before; beſides they had neglected to offer ſacrifice and to conſult the gods, as they ought and uſed to do upon all difficulties, eſpecially in war. No leſs did the multitude of commanders diſtract and confound their proceedings; for before upon leſs occaſions they choſe a ſingle perſon called *dictator*, being ſenſible of what great importance it is, in times of danger, to have the ſoldiers united under one general, whoſe authority is abſolute. Add to all this, that the injurious treatment Camillus had received was no ſmall hinderance to their affairs, it being grown a dangerous thing to command, without humouring and courting the ſoldiers. In this condition they left the city, and incamped about eleven miles from Rome, near the river Allia, and not far from the place where it falls into the Tyber; there the Gauls coming upon them, they ſhamefully engaging without order or diſcipline, were defeated. The left wing was immediately driven into the river, and there utterly deſtroyed: the right received leſs damage, by declining the ſhock, and from the low grounds getting to the tops of the hills, from whence many of them afterwards fled into the city; the reſt of the army, as many as eſcaped, (the enemy being weary of the ſlaughter), ſtole by night to Veii, thinking Rome was loſt, and all its inhabitants deſtroyed. This battle was fought about the ſummer-ſolſtice, the moon being at full, the very ſame day on which formerly happened the ſlaughter of the

the Fabii, when three hundred of that name and family were at once cut off by the Tuſcans. But from this ſecond loſs and defeat, the day got the name of *Allienſis*, from the river Allia, and ſtill retains it. As to unlucky days, whether we ſhould eſteem any ſuch or no, or whether Heraclitus juſtly cenſured Heſiod for diſtinguiſhing them into fortunate and unfortunate, as one ignorant that the nature of every day is the ſame, I have conſidered this in another place. But upon this occaſion I think it will not be amiſs to annex a few examples of this kind. The Bœotians on the fifth day of the month which they call *Hippodromius*, and the Athenians *Hecatombæon* [July], obtained two ſignal victories, by both of which they reſtored liberty to the Grecians; the one at Leuctra, the other at Geræſtus, above two hundred years before, when they overcame Lattamyas and the Theſſalians *. Again, on the ſixth of Boëdromion [September] the Perſians were worſted by the Grecians at Marathon; on the third at Platææ, as alſo at Mycale; on the twenty-ſixth at Arbeli. The Athenians about the full moon of the ſame month obtained a victory by ſea near Naxus, under the conduct of Chabrias; about the twentieth at Salamin, as we have ſhown in our book of days. Thargelion [May] was very unfortunate to the Barbarians; for in that month Alexander overcame Darius's general at Granicus, and the Carthaginians on the twenty-fourth were beaten by Timoleon in Sicily; on which ſame day and month Troy ſeems to have been taken, as Ephorus †, Calliſthenes, Damaſtes, and Phylarchus

* This defeat of the Theſſalians under Lattamyas happened not long before the battle of Thermopylæ, and little more than one hundred years before the battle of Leuctra. There is alſo an error here in the name of the place. Inſtead of Geraſtus we ſhould read Cereſſus. The former was a promontory in Eubœa; the latter was a fort in Bœotia, near which this battle was fought.

† Ephorus was Iſocrates's diſciple, and wrote the hiſtory of 750 years,

chus have related. On the other hand, the month Metagitnion [Auguſt] which the Bœotians call *Panemus*, was very unlucky to the Grecians; for on the ſeventh day of that month they were defeated by Antipater in the battle of Cranon, and utterly ruined; and before that in Chæronea they were defeated by Philip; and on the very ſame day of the ſame month, and the ſame year, they that went with Archidamus into Italy, were there cut off by the Barbarians. The Carthaginians obſerve the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month as bringing with it the moſt and greateſt of their loſſes. I am not ignorant on the other ſide, that, at the time of celebrating the myſteries, Thebes was deſtroyed by Alexander; and after that, upon the ſame twentieth of Boëdromion [September], on which day they celebrated the myſteries of Bacchus, the Athenians received a Macedonian garriſon. In like manner the Romans on the ſame day loſt their camp under Cæpio, by the Cimbrians, and afterwards under the conduct of Lucullus overcame the Armenians and Tigranes. King Attalus and Pompey died both on their birth-days. I could reckon up ſeveral that have had variety of fortune on the ſame day. However it be, the Romans reckon the day whereon they received this defeat at Allia as unfortunate; and as fear and ſuperſtition uſually increaſe upon any misfortune, they do not only diſtinguiſh that as ſuch in their calendar, but the two next that follow it in order in every month throughout the year. But I have diſcourſed of this more accurately in my book of Roman queſtions.

years, in which he included all the tranſactions both of the Greeks and Barbarians, from the return of the Heraclidæ.

Calliſthenes was Ariſtotle's ſcholar and relation. Among other of his works there was one that treated of the Trojan war. Being accuſed of conſpiring againſt Alexander, he was tortured to death, though innocent of the accuſation.

Damaſtes, one of Hellanicus's ſcholars, was of Sigeum a promontory in Troas. He wrote a Greek hiſtory, and a treatiſe of the anceſtors of thoſe who had been at the ſiege of Troy.

If

If after the battle the Gauls had immediately purſued thoſe that fled, nothing could have prevented the total deſtruction of Rome, and of all who remained in it; ſuch was the terror that thoſe who eſcaped from the battle had ſtruck into the city at their return, and ſo great was their own diſtraction and confuſion. But the Gauls, not imagining their victory to be ſo conſiderable, and giving a looſe to their joy, fell to feaſting and dividing the ſpoil, by which means they gave leiſure to ſuch as were for leaving the city to make their eſcape, and to thoſe who remained to prepare for their coming. For they who reſolved to ſtay at Rome, quitting the reſt of the city, betook themſelves to the capitol, which they fortified with ſtrong ramparts, and furniſhed with all ſorts of arms. But their firſt and principal care was of their holy things, moſt of which they conveyed into the capitol. But as for the conſecrated fire, the Veſtal virgins took it up and fled away with it, as likewiſe with other holy relics; though ſome ſay that no other thing was committed to their cuſtody but that ever-living fire, which Numa had ordained to be worſhipped as the principle of all things; for fire is the moſt active thing in nature, and all generation is motion, or at leaſt with motion; all other parts of matter without warmth lie ſluggiſh and dead, and crave the influence of heat as their life, and when that comes upon them, they immediately acquire ſome active or paſſive qualities. Wherefore Numa, who was a man of great learning, and on account of his wiſdom was thought to converſe with the muſes, conſecrated fire, and ordained it to be kept ever burning, in reſemblance of that eternal power which preſerves and actuates all things. Others ſay, that, according to the uſage of the Greeks, the fire always burns before holy places as an emblem of purity; but that there were other things hid in the moſt ſecret part of the temple, which were kept from

from the view of all except thoſe virgins whom they call *Veſtals*. It is commonly believed, that the image of Pallas, brought into Italy by Æneas, was laid up there. Others ſay, that the Samothracian gods lay there; and tell us, *that Dardanus carried them to Troy* †, *and when he had built that city, dedicated them there; that after Troy was taken, Æneas conveyed them away, and kept them till his coming into Italy.* But they who pretend to underſtand more of theſe things, affirm, that there are two barrels, not of any great ſize, one of which ſtands open, and is empty, the other is full and ſealed up; but that neither of them is to be ſeen but by the Veſtals. Others think that this is a miſtake, ariſing from hence, that on this occaſion the virgins put moſt of their holy things into two barrels, and hid them under ground in the temple of Quirinus, and that upon this account that place even ſtill keeps the name of *Doliola*, or *the Barrels*. However this be, taking the choiceſt and moſt venerable things they had, they fled away with them, ſhaping their courſe along the river-

† The poet Aretinus a diſciple of Homer, and after him Calliſtratus, who wrote a hiſtory of Samothrace, gave an account, that Chryſa the daughter of Pallas marrying Dardanus, brought him in dowery ſeveral preſents ſhe had received from Minerva, conſiſting of two ſtatues of that goddeſs, and ſome others of the gods called *Cabiri*, *i. e.* great, or powerful; that when the Arcadians, to avoid the deluge, had retired into Samothrace, Dardanus built a temple to thoſe gods, and appointed in what manner they ſhould be worſhipped, but concealed their names from every one; that afterwards he carried them with him into Aſia; that his deſcendents conſecrated to them a temple in the citadel of Ilium, where they were kept with great care; and that when the lower town was taken by the Greeks, and Æneas had made himſelf maſter of the citadel, he removed thoſe gods, and carried them with him into Italy. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſeems to be of opinion, that the Penates, or houſehold gods, were among theſe Trojan deities, which he had ſeen in an old temple at Rome. They repreſented two young men ſitting, and holding each a lance in his hand; they were of antique workmanſhip, and had this inſcription, DENAS, inſtead of PENAS, with which that verſe in Virgil agrees, *Cum penatibus, et magnis diis.* I think it needleſs to inquire who thoſe gods were, ſince the very people that worſhipped them never knew their names, ſo that the beſt will be but uncertain conjecture.

ſide, where Lucius Albinus, a plebeian, who among others was making his eſcape, overtook them, having his wife, children, and goods in a cart; he ſeeing the virgins in a helpleſs and weary condition, carrying in their arms the ſacred relics, cauſed his wife and children to deſcend; and taking out his goods, put the virgins in the cart, that they might make their eſcape to ſome of the Grecian cities. This devotion of Albinus, and reſpect to the gods in ſuch an exigence, is too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence. But the prieſts that belonged to other gods, and the moſt ancient of the ſenators who had been honoured with conſulſhips and triumphs, could not think of leaving the city; but putting on their holy veſtures and robes of ſtate, and Fabius the high prieſt directing the ceremony, they made their prayers to the gods, and devoting themſelves for their country, ſat down in their ivory chairs * in the forum, and in that poſture waited for the event. On the third day after the battle, Brennus appeared with his army before the city; and finding the gates wide open, and no guards upon the walls, he firſt ſuſpected ſome ambuſcade or ſtratagem, not imagining that the Romans were in ſo low and deſperate a condition. But when he found it to be ſo in reality, he entered at the Colline gate, and took Rome in the three hundred and ſixtieth year, or a little more, after it was built; if it be likely that an exact account has been preſerved of thoſe times †, the confuſion of which has occaſioned ſo much obſcurity in things of a later date. Some uncertain

* Theſe ivory or curule chairs were uſed only by thoſe who had borne the moſt honourable offices in the ſtate, which were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *curule dignities*; ſuch as the dictatorſhip, conſulſhip, &c.

† Livy tells us in the beginning of his ſixth book, that they had no authentic account of the tranſactions of thoſe or of the preceding times, both becauſe the Romans did not then much apply themſelves to writing, and becauſe the commentaries of their pontiffs and their other monuments, both public and private, were deſtroyed when the city was burnt by the Gauls.

rumours

rumours of the city's being taken, preſently flew into Greece; for Heraclides of Pontus *, who lived not long after theſe times, in his book of the ſoul, relates that a report came from the weſt, that an army proceeding from the Hyperboreans had taken a Greek city called *Rome*, ſeated ſomewhere upon the Great ſea. But I do not wonder that ſuch a fabulous author as Heraclides ſhould embelliſh his account of the taking of Rome with ſuch pompous words as *Hyperborean* and *Great ſea* †. Ariſtotle the philoſopher appears to have heard of the taking of the city by the Gauls; but he calls him who recovered it *Lucius*, whereas Camillus was not called *Lucius*, but *Marcus*.

Brennus having thus got poſſeſſion of Rome, ſet a ſtrong guard about the capitol; and going himſelf into the Forum, he was ſtruck with amazement at the ſight of ſo many men ſitting in that order and ſilence, who neither roſe at the approach of their enemies, or ſo much as changed colour or countenance, but without fear or concern leaned upon their ſtaves, and ſat looking one upon the other. The Gauls for a great while ſtood wondering at the ſtrangeneſs of the object, not daring ſo much as to approach or touch them, being ſeized with awe at

* He lived at the ſame time; for he was at firſt Plato's ſcholar, and afterwards Ariſtotle's; and Plato was but forty-one years old when Rome was taken.

† Plutarch's cenſure of Heraclides in this place is not well founded. He reproves him for embelliſhing his account, and giving it the air of a fable, by introducing ſuch pompous words as the *Hyperboreans*, and *Great ſea*; but the term *Hyperboreans* is no more fabulous than his own term the *Celtæ*; and the *Great ſea* is an expreſſion as allowable, as the *Hetrurian* or *Tuſcan ſea*. Plutarch forgets here that the ancients called the Mediterranean the *Great ſea*, in oppoſition to the Euxine; and that they called all the inhabitants of the North by the general name of *Hyperboreans*, which ſignifies no more than *very northerly*. However it is not to be denied that Heraclides was a very fabulous author. It was a vice, common with the ancient philoſophers, as well as hiſtorians, to mingle fables with hiſtory, where the wonderful produced the agreeable; notwithſtanding which they ſometimes told the truth, as appears in Herodotus, who in the main was as fabulous a writer as Heraclides.

the majeſty of their appearance. But when one, bolder than the reſt, drew near to Manius Papirius, and ſtretching out his hand, gently touched his chin, and ſtroked his long beard, Papirius with his ſtaff ſtruck him on the head, and wounded him; at which, the Barbarian being enraged, drew out his ſword, and ſlew him. This was the introduction to the ſlaughter; for the reſt of his fellows following this example, ſet upon them all and killed them, and continuing their rage, diſpatched all others that came in their way. Then they pillaged the houſes for many days together, carrying away every thing they found in them: afterwards they ſet fire to them, and demoliſhed what the fire had left ſtanding, being incenſed at thoſe who kept the capitol, becauſe they would not yield to their ſummons, but, on the contrary, vigorouſly defended themſelves, and repulſed the attacks of the beſiegers. This provoked them to deſtroy the whole city, and put to the ſword all that fell into their hands, young and old, men and women.

After the ſiege of the capitol had laſted a good while, the Gauls began to be in want of proviſion: wherefore, dividing their forces, part of them ſtaid with the king at the ſiege, whilſt the reſt went to forage in the country, deſtroying the towns and villages where they came; yet not all together in a body, but in different troops and parties. And to ſuch a confidence had ſucceſs raiſed them, that they careleſsly rambled about, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger. But the greateſt and beſt diſciplined body of their forces went to the city of Ardea, where Camillus then was. He had ever ſince his leaving Rome ſequeſtered himſelf from all buſineſs, and lived a private life: but now his ſpirit was again rouſed, and his mind was employed in contriving, not how he might avoid the enemy and keep himſelf concealed, but how he might beſt attack and ſubdue them. And perceiving that the

Ardeans

Ardeans wanted not men, but courage, which was owing to the cowardice and unſkilfulneſs of their officers; he at firſt began to talk with the young men, telling them, *That they ought not to aſcribe the misfortune of the Romans to the courage of their enemy, or attribute the loſſes they ſuſtained by their own imprudence, to the conduct of thoſe who could not claim the merit of the victory, but were only an evidence of the power of fortune; that it was glorious, even with danger, to repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whoſe end in conquering, was like fire to lay waſte and deſtroy; but if they would be courageous and reſolute, he would give them an opportunity to conquer without any hazard at all.* When he found the young men were pleaſed with this diſcourſe, he went to the chief officers and governors of the city; and having perſuaded them alſo, he muſtered all that could bear arms, and drew them up within the walls, that they might not be perceived by the enemy who was near. The Gauls having ſcoured the country, and returned loaded with plunder, lay encamped in the plains in a careleſs and negligent poſture; afterwards the night coming on, and they being intoxicated with wine, there was great ſilence through all the camp. When Camillus underſtood this by his ſpies, he drew out the Ardeans, and in the dead of night, paſſing in ſilence the ground that lay between the enemy and the town, he arrived at their camp; and then commanded his trumpets to ſound, and his men to ſhout. But the Gauls were ſo overcharged with wine, that all the noiſe of the aſſailants could hardly awaken them: a few, whom fear made ſober, getting into ſome order, for a while reſiſted, and ſo died with their weapons in their hands. But the greateſt part of them, buried in wine and ſleep, were ſurpriſed without their arms, and diſpatched. A ſmall number, that by the advantage of the night got out of the camp, were the next day found wandering in the fields, and

were picked up by the horſe that purſued them. The fame of this action preſently flew through the neighbouring cities, and ſtirred up the youth of all parts to come and join themſelves with Camillus. But none were ſo much concerned as thoſe Romans who had eſcaped in the battle of Allia, and were now at Veii, thus lamenting with themſelves: *What a commander has providence bereaved Rome of, to honour Ardea with his actions! while that city, which brought forth and nurſed ſo great a man, is now no more; and we deſtitute of a leader, and living within ſtrange walls, ſit idle and ſee Italy ruined before our eyes. Come, let us ſend to the Ardeans to demand back our general, or elſe, with weapons in our hands, let us go thither to him; for he is no longer an exile, nor we citizens, having no country, but what is in the poſſeſſion of the enemy.* This being agreed upon, they ſent to Camillus, to deſire him to take the command; but he anſwered, that he would not, until they that were in the capitol ſhould legally chuſe him; for he eſteemed them, as long as they were in being, to be his country; that if they ſhould command him, he would readily obey; but againſt their conſent he would not interpoſe. When this anſwer was returned, they admired the modeſty and virtue of Camillus, but they were at a loſs for a meſſenger to carry an account of theſe things to the capitol; and what was more, it ſeemed altogether impoſſible for any one to get thither, whilſt the enemy was in full poſſeſſion of the city. But among the young men, there was one Pontius Cominius, a man not of high birth, but ambitious of honour, who offered to run the hazard. He took no letters with him to thoſe in the capitol, leſt being intercepted, the enemy might learn by them the intentions of Camillus. But putting on a poor garment, and carrying corks under it, the greateſt part of the way he boldly travelled by day, and came to the city when it was dark. The bridge he could not paſs, it being guarded

guarded by the Barbarians; ſo that taking his cloaths, which were neither many nor heavy, and binding them about his head, he laid his body upon the corks, and ſwimming on them, got over to the city. And avoiding thoſe quarters where he perceived the enemy was awake, which he gueſſed at by the lights and noiſe, he went to the Carmental gate, where there was the greateſt ſilence, and where the hill of the capitol is moſt ſteep and craggy. By this way he got up unperceived, though with much difficulty, and preſented himſelf to the guards; and having ſaluted them, and told them his name, he was taken in, and carried to the commanders. A ſenate being immediately called, he related to them the victory of Camillus, which they had not heard of before, and told them the proceedings of the ſoldiers, adviſing them to confirm the command to Camillus, on whoſe conduct alone the whole army relied. Having heard his report and conſulted of the matter, the ſenate declared Camillus dictator, and ſent back Pontius the ſame way that he came; who, with the ſame ſucceſs, paſſed through the enemy, without being diſcovered, and delivered to the Romans the decree of the ſenate; they received it with great acclamations of joy, and Camillus coming to them, found 20,000 of them ready in arms; with which forces, and thoſe confederates he brought along with him, which were more in number, he prepared to attack the enemy.

But at Rome ſome of the Barbarians paſſing by chance that way by which Pontius by night had got into the capitol, obſerved in ſeveral places the print of his feet and hands, where he had made his way up the rock, and the moſs that grew to the rock torn off and broken; this they reported to the king; who coming in perſon and viewing it, for the preſent ſaid nothing; but in the evening, picking out ſuch of the Gauls as were nimbleſt of body, and by living in the mountains were accuſtomed to climb,

climb, he thus addreſſed them: *The enemy themſelves have ſhown us a way how to come at them, which we knew not of before; and have proved to us that this rock is not inacceſſible. It is ſhameful for thoſe who have begun well, to fail in the end, and to quit a place as impregnable, when the enemy himſelf points out the way by which it may be taken: for in the ſame place where it was eaſy for one man to get up, it will not be hard for many, one after another; nay, when many ſhall undertake it, they will naturally aſſiſt each other. Rewards and honours ſhall be beſtowed on every man, according as he ſhall acquit himſelf in the action.* When the king had thus ſpoken, the Gauls cheerfully undertook to perform the thing; and, in the dead of night, a large party of them with great ſilence began to climb the rock, which though very ſteep and craggy, yet upon trial did not prove ſo difficult of aſcent as they had expected. So that the foremoſt of them having gained the top of all, and put themſelves into order, were juſt ready to take poſſeſſion of the wall, and to fall upon the guards, who were faſt aſleep, for neither man nor dog perceived their coming. But there were ſacred geeſe kept near the temple of Juno, which at other times were plentifully fed; but at this time, as corn and all other proviſions were grown ſcarce, their allowance was ſhortened, and they themſelves in a poor and lean condition. This creature is by nature of quick ſenſe, and apprehenſive of the leaſt noiſe; ſo that being beſides watchful through hunger, and reſtleſs, they immediately diſcovered the coming of the Gauls; and running up and down, with their noiſe and cackling they raiſed the whole camp. The Barbarians on the other ſide perceiving themſelves diſcovered, no longer kept ſilence, but with great ſhouting and violence ſet themſelves to the aſſault. The Romans every one in haſte ſnatching up the next weapon that came to hand, did what they could on this ſudden occaſion. Manlius, a

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man of conſular dignity, of great ſtrength and extraordinary courage, was the firſt that made head againſt them, and engaging with two of the enemy at once, with his ſword cut off the right arm of one juſt as he was lifting up his pole-ax to ſtrike; and running his target full in the face of the other, tumbled him headlong down the ſteep rock; then mounting the rampart, and there ſtanding with others that came immediately to his aſſiſtance, he drove down the reſt of them, there having not many got up, and thoſe that had, having done nothing ſuitable to the boldneſs of the attempt. The Romans having thus eſcaped this danger, early in the morning took the captain of the watch, and flung him down the rock upon the head of their enemies; and to Manlius for his victory, they voted a reward which carried more honour than advantage with it: it was this; they contributed to him as much as every man had for his daily allowance, which was half a pound of bread, and about half a pint of wine. From this time the affairs of the Gauls were daily in a worſe condition; they wanted proviſions, being prevented from foraging through fear of Camillus; beſides that ſickneſs came upon them, occaſioned by the number of carcaſes that lay unburied in heaps. Moreover, being lodged among the ruins, the aſhes, which were very deep, being blown about with the wind, and heated by the ſun, cauſed a dry and peſtilent air, extremely pernicious to thoſe who breathed in it. But the chief cauſe was the change of their natural climate; for coming out of ſhady and hilly countries, which afforded pleaſant retirements and ſhelter from the heat, they found they were now got into low grounds, naturally unhealthful in the autumn ſeaſon. Another thing which broke their ſpirits, was the length and tedioufneſs of the ſiege; for they had now ſat ſix entire months before the capitol, inſomuch that there was vaſt deſolation among

mong them; and the number of the dead was grown ſo great, that they quite left off burying them. Neither were things any better with the beſieged; for famine increaſed upon them; and not knowing what Camillus did, they remained in a languiſhing and deſponding condition; for it was impoſſible to ſend any meſſenger to him, the city was ſo narrowly guarded by the Barbarians. Things being in this condition on both ſides, mention was firſt made of an accommodation by ſome of the centinels, as they happened to diſcourſe with one another; and afterwards, by the conſent of the chief men among the Romans, Sulpicius, one of the military tribunes, came to parley with Brennus; where it was agreed, that the Romans laying down a thouſand pounds weight of gold, the Gauls upon the receipt of it ſhould immediately quit the city and its territories. The agreement being confirmed by oath on both ſides, and the gold being brought, the Gauls uſed falſe dealing in the weights, firſt ſecretly, afterwards openly, pulling back the balance and violently turning it: which the Romans reſenting, Brennus, in an inſulting manner, pulled off his ſword and belt, and threw them both into the ſcales; and when Sulpicius aſked, what that meant? *What ſhould it mean*, ſays he, *but wo to the conquered!* which afterwards became a proverbial ſaying. As for the Romans, ſome were ſo incenſed, that they were for taking their gold back again, and returning, with a reſolution to endure the utmoſt extremities of the ſiege. Others were for paſſing by a trifling injury, not thinking that the indignity lay in paying more than was due, but in paying any thing at all; and that this was indeed a diſgrace to which only the neceſſity of the times had made them yield. Whilſt they had this diſpute with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates; and having learned what had paſſed, he commanded the body of his forces to follow

follow ſlowly after him in good order, and himſelf with the choiceſt of his men haſtened to the place of treaty, where the Romans giving way to him, and receiving him as dictator with profound ſilence and reſpect, he took the gold out of the ſcales, and delivered it to his officers, and commanded the Gauls to take their weights and ſcales, and depart, ſaying, that *it was cuſtomary with the Romans to deliver their country with iron, not with gold.* And when Brennus began to rage and complain of the injuſtice done him in breaking the contract; Camillus anſwered, that it was never legally made, and therefore of no force, for that himſelf being declared dictator, and there being no other magiſtrate, the Gauls had contracted with thoſe who had no power to contract; but now they muſt apply to him if they had any demands to make, for he was come as abſolute lord by law, to grant pardon to ſuch as ſhould aſk it, or inflict puniſhment on thoſe who had been authors of theſe diſturbances, if they did not repent. At this Brennus grew outrageous, and a quarrel immediately enſued; both ſides drawing their ſwords, and vigorouſly aſſaulting each other, were mixed in confuſion together, as it could not otherwiſe be amongſt the ruins of houſes, in narrow lanes, and ſuch places where it was impoſſible to draw up in any order. But Brennus preſently recollecting himſelf, called off his men, and, with the loſs of a few only, brought them to their camp; then riſing in the night with all his forces, he left the city; and going on about eight miles, encamped upon the way that leads to Gabii. As ſoon as day appeared, Camillus came up with him, himſelf ſplendidly armed, and his ſoldiers full of courage and confidence. A ſharp engagement enſued, which laſted a long while; at length the Gauls were defeated with great ſlaughter, and their camp taken. Of thoſe that fled, ſome were cut off by the purſuers; the

the greater number, being ſcattered up and down, were deſtroyed by the people of the neighbouring villages and cities *. Thus was Rome ſtrangely taken, and more ſtrangely recovered; having been ſeven whole months in the poſſeſſion of the Barbarians, who entered it about the fifteenth day of July, and were driven out about the thirteenth of February following. Camillus triumphed, as he deſerved, having ſaved his country that was loſt, and, as it were, brought the city back again to itſelf. For they who had lived abroad, together with their wives and children, returned with him in his triumph; and they who had been ſhut up in the capitol, and were almoſt periſhing with hunger, went out to meet them, embracing each other, and weeping for joy at ſo unhoped for a deliverance. But when the prieſts and miniſters of the gods appeared, bearing thoſe ſacred relics, which when they fled from Rome they had either hid there, or conveyed away with them, and now openly ſhowed that they were preſerved, it yielded a moſt joyful and deſirable ſpectacle to the citizens, as if with them the gods themſelves were again returned to Rome. After Camillus had ſacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, the prieſts leading the proceſſion, and performing the cuſtomary ceremonies, he reſtored the former temples, and erected a new one to the god *Aius Loquutius* [*i. e.* the *ſpeaker* or *caller*], chuſing the very ſame place in which that voice from heaven came by night to Marcus Cedicius, foretelling the coming of the barbarian army. It was a work of great difficulty, to diſcover the places of the ancient temples; but by

* There is reaſon to queſtion the truth of the latter part of this ſtory. Plutarch copied it from Livy. But Polybius repreſents the Gauls as actually receiving the gold from the Romans, and returning in ſafety to their own country; and this is confirmed by Juſtin, Suetonius, and even by Livy himſelf in another part of his hiſtory, x. 16.

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the zeal of Camillus, and the inceſſant labour of the prieſts, it was at laſt accompliſhed. But when they came to the rebuilding of the city, which was wholly demoliſhed, an heartleſs deſpondency ſeized the multitude, and a backwardneſs to the work, becauſe they wanted all neceſſary materials, and had more need of ſome refreſhment and reſt from their labours, than of new toil and fatigue, after their health was broken and their fortunes ruined. Thus they inſenſibly turned their thoughts again towards Veii, a city ready built, and well provided with all things; which gave occaſion to many who ſought to be popular, by taking advantage of this diſpoſition, to raiſe new tumults; and many ſeditious words were thrown out againſt Camillus; *that, out of ambition and vain-glory, he with-held them from a city fit to receive them, forcing them to live in the midſt of ruins, and to raiſe a city from ſuch rubbiſh, that he might be eſteemed not the chief magiſtrate only and general of Rome, but (uſurping the title of Romulus) the founder alſo.* The ſenate therefore, fearing a ſedition, would not ſuffer Camillus, though deſirous, to lay down his authority within the year, though no other dictator had ever held it above ſix months. Beſides, they endeavoured, by kind perſuaſions and familiar addreſſes, to cheer and ſooth the minds of the people. Sometimes they would lead them to the monuments and tombs of their anceſtors, and often put them in mind of the temples and holy places which Romulus and Numa, or any other of their kings, had conſecrated and left to them; but among the chief of their holy relics, they ſet before them that bloody head * which was found in laying the foundation of the capitol, and which portended that that

* This prodigy happened in the reign of Tarquin the Proud. As they were digging, they found a human head warm and bleeding, as if juſt ſevered from the body; upon which they ſent to conſult the Tuſcan ſoothſayers, who anſwered that the place where that head was found would be the head of all Italy.

place was deſtined by fate to be the head of all Italy. They urged what a ſhame it would be to them, by forſaking the city, to loſe and extinguiſh that holy fire, which, ſince the war, was rekindled by the Veſtal virgins; and to ſee the city itſelf either inhabited by ſtrangers, or left a wild paſture for cattle to graze on. Such reaſons as theſe, mixed with complaints and entreaties, they uſed with the people, ſometimes in private, and ſometimes in their public aſſemblies. But ſtill they were afreſh aſſaulted by the outcries of the multitude, proteſting and bewailing their preſent wants and inability, beſeeching them, that ſeeing they were juſt ſaved, as from a ſhipwreck, naked and deſtitute, they would not conſtrain them to patch up the pieces of a ruined and ſhattered city, when they had another at hand ready built. Camillus thought beſt to refer it to the ſenate; and he himſelf diſcourſed largely and earneſtly, againſt abandoning their country, as likewiſe did many others. At laſt, calling to Lucius Lucretius, whoſe place it was to vote firſt, he commanded him to give his opinion, and the reſt as they followed in order. Silence being made, and Lucretius juſt about to begin, by chance a captain without, paſſing by the ſenate-houſe, and leading his company off the day-guard, called out with a loud voice to the enſign-bearer, to *ſtay* and *fix his ſtandard*; *for that was the beſt place to ſtay in.* This voice coming juſt at that time, and in the midſt of their anxiety and uncertainty, Lucretius embracing the omen, and adoring the gods, gave his opinion for ſtaying, as likewiſe did all the reſt that followed. Even among the common people it wrought a wonderful change of inclination, every one heartening and encouraging his neighbour, and ſetting himſelf cheerfully to the work. They did not proceed upon any regular plan, but every one pitched upon that plot of ground which came next to hand, or beſt pleaſed his fancy; by which hurry the city, when

when built, conſiſted of narrow and intricate lanes, and houſes crouded together without any order. For it is ſaid, that, within the compaſs of a year, the whole city was completed, both in its public walls, and private buildings. The perſons appointed by Camillus to recover and mark out the conſecrated places, in that great confuſion of all things, ſearching about the Palatium, and coming to that place which is called *Mars's chapel*, they found it like the reſt, entirely deſtroyed by the Barbarians; but whilſt they were clearing the place, and carrying away the rubbiſh, they lit upon Romulus's augural ſtaff, buried under a great heap of aſhes. This ſtaff is crooked at one end, and is called *Lituus*. They make uſe of this in quartering out the regions of the heavens, when they are employed in that ſort of divination which is made by the flight of birds; and Romulus himſelf alſo made uſe of it, being deeply ſkilled in augury. But when he diſappeared from among men, the prieſts took the ſtaff, and kept it as other holy things, not to be touched or defiled. Now, when they found that this ſtaff was not in the leaſt injured by the flames, though all other things were conſumed, they began to conceive joyful hopes, that this token portended the everlaſting ſafety and proſperity of Rome.

The city was ſcarce rebuilt before they were engaged in a new war. The Æqui, Volſci, and Latins all at once invaded their territories; and the Tuſcans laid ſiege to Sutrium, a confederate city of the Romans. The military tribunes, who commanded the army, and were encamped about the hill Martius, being cloſely beſieged by the Latins, and the camp in danger of being loſt, ſent to Rome, and Camillus was a third time choſen dictator. Concerning this war there are two different relations; I ſhall begin with the fabulous. They ſay, that the Latins (either out of pretence or real deſign to reſtore the ancient affinity between both nations) ſent

to deſire of the Romans ſome of their free virgins in marriage. The Romans were at a loſs what to determine: for on one hand they dreaded a war, having ſcarce ſettled and recovered themſelves; on the other ſide, they ſuſpected that this aſking of wives was in reality nothing elſe but a demand of hoſtages, though covered with the ſpecious name of marriage and alliance. But a certain female ſlave, by name *Tutula*, or, as ſome call her, *Philotis*, perſuaded the magiſtrates to ſend with her ſome of the youngeſt and moſt beautiful ſlaves in the garb and dreſs of noble virgins, and leave the reſt to her care and management: the magiſtrates, approving her deſign, choſe out as many as ſhe thought neceſſary for her purpoſe, and adorning them with gold and rich cloaths, delivered them to the Latins, who were encamped near the city. At night, when the other ſlaves had ſtolen away the enemies ſwords, Tutula or Philotis, climbing to the top of a wild fig-tree, and ſpreading out a thick garment behind her, to conceal the deſign from the Latins, held out a torch towards Rome, which was the ſignal agreed on between her and the magiſtrates, none of the other citizens knowing the meaning of it; this was the reaſon that the ſoldiers ran out in a very tumultuous manner, the officers puſhing their men on, and they calling to their fellow-ſoldiers; and it was with much difficulty that they were brought into any order; but falling upon the enemies works, who expecting no ſuch attempt were all aſleep, they took the camp, and deſtroyed moſt of them. This was done on the Nones of July, which was then called *Quintilis*; and the feaſt obſerved on that day, is in remembrance of this action: for firſt running out of the city in great crouds, they pronounce aloud the moſt familiar and uſual names, as *Caius*, *Marcus*, *Lucius*, and the like, imitating thereby the ſoldiers calling to one another when they iſſued out in ſuch haſte. In the

the next place, the maid-ſervants richly adorned run about playing and jeſting with all they meet, and amongſt themſelves uſe a kind of ſkirmiſhing, to ſhow the aſſiſtance they gave in this engagement with the Latins. At this feaſt, they ſit ſhaded over with boughs of wild fig-tree; and the day they call *nonæ Capratinæ*, as ſome think, from that wild fig-tree on which the ſlave held out her torch; for the Romans call a wild fig-tree *Caprificus*. Others refer moſt of what is ſaid or done at this feaſt, to what happened to Romulus; for on this day, without the gate of the city, he vaniſhed out of ſight, a ſudden darkneſs then ariſing together with a tempeſt; (ſome think there was an eclipſe of the ſun); and it is ſuppoſed that the day was called *nonæ Capratinæ*, becauſe Romulus diſappeared at a place called *Palus capræ*, or *Goat's-marſh*, whilſt he was holding there an aſſembly of the people, as we have mentioned in his life. But moſt writers prefer the other account of this war; which they thus relate. Camillus being the third time choſen dictator, and learning that the army under the tribunes was beſieged by the Latins and Volſci, was conſtrained to arm, not only the youth, but even ſuch as age had exempted from ſervice; and taking a large compaſs round the mount Martius, undiſcovered by the enemy, he encamped behind them, and then by many fires gave notice of his arrival. The beſieged encouraged herewith, prepared to fall on and join battle; but the Latins and Volſci, being thus encompaſſed by the enemy, kept within their works, which they fortified on all ſides, by driving ſtakes into the ground; reſolving to wait for more ſupplies from home, and for the aſſiſtance which they expected from the Tuſcans their confederates. Camillus perceiving their drift, and fearing that he might be reduced to the ſame ſtraits that they were, and be beſieged himſelf, reſolved to loſe no time;

and finding their rampart was all of timber, and obſerving that a ſtrong wind conſtantly at ſun-riſing blew from the mountains, he prepared much combuſtible matter, and about break of day drew out his forces; ſome of which he commanded to take their darts, and with noiſe and ſhouting aſſault the enemy on the oppoſite quarter, whilſt he, with thoſe who were to fling in the fire, went to that ſide of the enemy's camp on which the wind lay directly, and there waited his opportunity. When the ſkirmiſh was begun, and the ſun riſen, and a violent wind blew from the mountains, he gave the ſignal of onſet; and pouring in an infinite quantity of fiery matter, he filled all their rampart with it, ſo that the flame being fed in the cloſe timber and wooden paliſadoes, increaſed and diſperſed itſelf into all quarters. The Latins having nothing ready to keep it off or extinguiſh it, the camp being almoſt full of fire, were reduced to a very ſmall compaſs, and at laſt forced to fall into their enemies hands, who ſtood drawn up in arms before the works; of theſe a very few eſcaped, but thoſe who ſtaid in the camp were all conſumed by the fire; and then the Romans, to gain the pillage, extinguiſhed it. After this, Camillus, leaving his ſon Lucius in the camp to guard the priſoners and ſecure the booty, paſſed into the enemies country; where having taken the city of the Æqui, and reduced the Volſci, he immediately led his army to Sutrium; for he had not heard what had befallen the Sutrians, but made haſte to aſſiſt them, as if they were ſtill in danger, and beſieged by the Tuſcans. But they had already ſurrendered their city to their enemies; and in a deſtitute condition, with their garments only about them, leading their wives and children, and bewailing their misfortune, met Camillus on the way. Camillus himſelf was ſtruck with the object, and perceiving that the Romans wept for pity at the affecting entreaties of the Sutrians,

trians, reſolved not to defer revenge, but that very day to lead his army to Sutrium, conjecturing that as the Tuſcans had juſt taken a rich and plentiful city, and not left an enemy within it, nor expected any from without, he ſhould find them negligent and unguarded. And in this he judged right: for he not only paſſed through their country without diſcovery, but came up to their very gates, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the walls; for there was not a man left to guard them, they being all got into houſes in different parts of the town, drinking and making merry upon the occaſion: nay, when at laſt they perceived that the enemy had ſeized the city, they were ſo overcharged with meat and wine, that few were able ſo much as to endeavour an eſcape; but ignominiouſly waiting in the houſes, either were killed, or ſurrendered themſelves to the will of the conqueror. Thus the city of the Sutrians was twice taken in one day; they who were in poſſeſſion, having loſt it, and after loſing it recovering it again, by the means of Camillus. For all which actions he received a triumph, which brought him no leſs honour and reputation than both the former: for thoſe very citizens, who before moſt envied and detracted from his merit, aſcribing his ſucceſſes to a certain lucky turn of fortune rather than to his virtue, were now compelled by theſe laſt actions to attribute them to his great abilities and indefatigable application.

Of all his adverſaries, and the enviers of his glory, Marcus Manlius was the moſt conſiderable; he who firſt repulſed the Gauls from the capitol, when they attacked it in the night, for which he was ſurnamed *Capitolinus*. This man affecting the firſt place in the commonwealth, and not being able by honourable ways to ſurpaſs Camillus in reputation, took the uſual methods of ſuch as aim at a tyrannical government, by practiſing upon the weakneſs of the populace, eſpecially of ſuch as were in debt;

ſome he would defend againſt their creditors by pleading their cauſes; others he would reſcue by force, not ſuffering the law to proceed againſt them: inſomuch that in a ſhort time he had gotten great numbers of indigent people about him; who making tumults and uproars in the Forum, ſtruck great terror into the principal citizens. In this exigence they created Quintus* Capitolinus dictator, who committed Manlius to priſon, upon which the people put themſelves into mourning; a thing never done but in great and public calamities. The ſenate fearing ſome tumult, ordered him to be releaſed; but when ſet at liberty, he was not the better, but rather more inſolent in his practices, filling the whole city with ſedition. Wherefore they choſe Camillus again military tribune; and a day being ſet for Manlius to anſwer to his charge, the proſpect of the place was a great hindrance to his accuſers: for the very place where Manlius by night fought with the Gauls, overlooked the Forum from the capitol; ſo that ſtretching forth his hands that way, and weeping, he called to their remembrance his paſt actions, raiſing compaſſion in all that beheld him. The judges were therefore at a loſs what to do, and were ſeveral times forced to adjourn the trial; not being willing to acquit him of a crime proved by ſuch manifeſt circumſtances, and yet being unable to execute the law in that place where the view of the capitol perpetually reminded the people how nobly he had defended it. Camillus conſidering this, removed the judgment-ſeat without the gate to the Peteline grove, from whence there is no proſpect of the capitol. Here his accuſer went on with his charge, and the difficulty which aroſe from the recollection of his for-

* Either Plutarch is miſtaken, or the text is defective. It ſhould be *they choſe Cornelius Coſſus dictator, who named Quintus Capitolinus maſter of the horſe. Liv. lib. 6. cap.* 12. This was in the third year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, and in the year of Rome 371.

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mer ſervices being removed, he received the juſt reward of his late offences; for being found guilty, he was carried to the capitol, and thrown headlong from the rock *; the ſame place being a monument both of his glory and of his unfortunate end. The Romans beſides razed his houſe, and built there a temple to the goddeſs Moneta; and ordained for the future, that none of the Patrician order ſhould ever dwell in the capitol †.

And now Camillus being called the ſixth time to the tribuneſhip, choſe to decline the office on account of his age; perhaps too fearing the malice of fortune, and the envy which uſually attends great and proſperous actions. But his chief excuſe was the bad ſtate of his health, for he happened at that time to be ſick; the people however would admit of no excuſes, ſaying that they did not require him to fight either on foot or on horſeback, but only wanted his counſel and conduct. This prevailed upon him to undertake the command, and with one of his fellow-tribunes, Lucius Furius, to lead the army immediately againſt the enemy. Theſe were the Præneſtines and Volſci, who with a great army laid waſte the countries of the Roman allies. Having marched out his army, he encamped near the

* This is a moſt remarkable example, whereby we are taught, that an irregular ambition is capable not only of ſinking in oblivion a long courſe of great actions and ſervices, but even of rendering them unacceptable and odious. There was not perhaps at that time in all Rome, a perſon more illuſtrious than Manlius. He produced thirty ſpoils of enemies, whom he had ſlain with his own hands; forty honorary rewards, which had been conferred on him by his generals, among which were two mural, and eight civic crowns. He produced ſeveral citizens whom he had ſaved from the hands of the enemy, and among them C. Servilius, maſter of the horſe. All theſe meritorious actions were crowned with that ſignal ſervice to his country, the preſervation of the capitol, which alone might have obtained his pardon for a greater crime than that laid to his charge, from a people leſs jealous of their liberty than the Romans.

† Livy adds to this, that it was decreed by all his family, that none of their deſcendents ſhould ever after be called *Marcus Manlius*.

enemy.

enemy; deſigning to protract the war, that he might have time to recover his health, and be able to act in perſon if it ſhould afterwards be neceſſary to come to an engagement. But Lucius his colleague, carried away with the deſire of glory, was impatient to give battle, and inſpired the other officers of the army with the ſame eagerneſs; ſo that Camillus fearing he might ſeem out of envy to rob the young officers of the glory of a victory, conſented, though unwillingly, that Lucius ſhould draw out the forces, whilſt himſelf, by reaſon of weakneſs, ſtaid behind with a few in the camp. Lucius engaging raſhly, was ſoon defeated. When Camillus perceived that the Romans were put to flight, he could not contain himſelf, but leaping from his bed with the ſervants and retinue he had about him, ran to meet them at the gates of the camp; and making his way through them that fled, he drove furiouſly to oppoſe the purſuers; inſomuch, that thoſe who were got within the camp preſently turned back and followed him, and thoſe who were running towards it, made head again and gathered about him, exhorting one another not to forſake their general. Thus the enemy for that time was ſtopped in the purſuit. But the next day Camillus drawing out his forces, and joining battle with them, routed them, and following cloſe upon them as they fled, he entered together with them into their camp, and killed the greateſt part of them. Afterwards having heard that Satricum was taken by the Tuſcans, and the inhabitants (who were all Romans) put to the ſword, he ſent home to Rome the main body of his forces, and the heavieſt armed, and taking with him the moſt vigorous and reſolute of his ſoldiers, he ſuddenly fell upon the Tuſcans, who were in poſſeſſion of the city, and having maſtered them, ſome he drove out, others he ſlew. He then returned to Rome with great ſpoils, having given a ſignal evidence of the good ſenſe of the Roman

man people, who not miſtruſting the weakneſs and age of a commander endued with courage and conduct, had rather choſen him who was ſickly, and deſirous to be excuſed, than younger men who were forward and ambitious to command. Wherefore, when news was brought of the revolt of the Tuſculans, they gave Camillus the charge of reducing them, and the liberty of chuſing which of his five colleagues he pleaſed to go with him. And now when every one of them ſued eagerly for the place, contrary to the expectation of all, he paſſed by the reſt, and choſe Lucius Furius, the very ſame man, who but juſt before had been defeated, by raſhly hazarding a battle againſt the judgment of Camillus; being willing probably, by this preference, to relieve him from his diſgrace. The Tuſculans hearing that Camillus was coming againſt them, ſought cunningly to take off the ſuſpicion of their revolt. Their fields, as in times of profound peace, were full of huſbandmen and ſhepherds; their gates ſtood wide open, and their children went publicly to ſchool; ſuch of the people as were tradeſmen, he found in their ſhops, buſied about their ſeveral employments; and the better ſort of citizens walking in the public places, in their uſual dreſs. The magiſtrates were diligent and officious in providing quarters for the Romans, as if they ſtood in no fear, and had committed no fault. Theſe arts, though they could not alter the opinion Camillus had of their treachery, yet wrought in him ſuch a compaſſion for them as penitents, that he commanded them to go to the ſenate and appeaſe their anger, and himſelf became interceſſor in their behalf: ſo that their city was acquitted of all offences, and admitted to the freedom and privileges of Rome. Theſe were the moſt memorable actions of his ſixth tribuneſhip.

After this Licinius Stolo raiſed a great ſedition in the city, and the people had a violent contention with

with the ſenate, demanding that of two conſuls one ſhould be choſen out of the commons, and not both out of the nobility. Tribunes of the people were choſen, but the multitude violently oppoſed the election of conſuls *. Things through this diſſenſion running into great diſorder, Camillus was a fourth time created dictator by the ſenate, much againſt the will of the people; neither was he himſelf very forward to accept it, being unwilling to oppoſe his authority to thoſe, who might allege many great battles to prove that he had done more with them in military affairs than ever he had tranſacted with the nobility in civil; knowing too that he was now pitched upon out of envy, that if he prevailed, he might ruin the people; or if he failed, be ruined himſelf. However, to provide as good a remedy as he could for the preſent, knowing the day on which the tribunes of the people intended to propoſe the law, he at the ſame time proclaimed a general muſter, and called the people from the Forum into the field, threatening to ſet heavy fines upon ſuch as ſhould not obey. On the other ſide, the tribunes of the people oppoſed themſelves to his threats, ſolemnly proteſting to fine him in 50,000 drachmas of ſilver, if he perſiſted to hinder the people from giving their ſuffrages for the law. Wherefore, either fearing another baniſhment and condemnation, which he looked upon as an indignity highly unbecoming his age, and the great actions he had performed, or finding himſelf not able to reſiſt the violence and fury of the multitude, he retired to his houſe, and ſome days after, under pretence of indiſpoſition, laid down his dictatorſhip. The ſenate created another dictator, who chuſing Stolo leader of this ſedition, to be *general of the horſe*,

* This confuſion laſted five years, during which time no conſuls or military tribunes were choſen; the tribunes of the people conſtantly preventing thoſe aſſemblies from being held which were neceſſary for the election of ſuch magiſtrates.

horſe, ſuffered that law to take place, which was very diſagreeable to the nobility, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould poſſeſs above 500 acres of land. Stolo exceedingly triumphed in the conqueſt he had gained, till not long after he was found himſelf to poſſeſs more than he allowed to others, and ſo ſuffered the penalties of his own law. And now the contention about election of conſuls coming on, which was the chief ſubject and original cauſe of theſe diſſenſions between the ſenate and the people, certain intelligence arrived, that the Gauls again proceeding from the Adriatic ſea, were marching directly towards Rome, and the report was confirmed by the effects which immediately appeared; for the country through which they marched was all laid waſte, and ſuch as by flight could not make their eſcape to Rome, were diſperſed and ſcattered among the mountains. The terror of this war quieted the ſedition: ſo that the nobility conferring with the commons, and both joining counſels unanimouſly, choſe Camillus the fifth time dictator; who, though very old, as not wanting much of fourſcore years, yet conſidering the danger and neceſſity of his country, did not, as before, pretend ſickneſs or any other excuſe, but readily undertook the charge, and liſted his ſoldiers. Knowing that the force of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their ſwords, which they managed in a rude and unſkilful manner, ſtriking chiefly the head and ſhoulders, he cauſed iron helmets to be made for moſt of his men, poliſhed on the outſide, that the enemies ſwords lighting upon them, might either ſlide off, or be broken; and round their ſhields he drew a little rim of braſs, the wood itſelf being not ſufficient to reſiſt the blows. Beſides, he taught his ſoldiers in cloſe engagement to uſe long javelins, which being held under their enemies ſwords, would receive the force and violence of them. When the Gauls drew near, and were arrived at the river Anio, dragging

ging a heavy camp after them, and loaden with infinite ſpoil, Camillus drew out his forces, and encamped upon a hill of eaſy aſcent, and which had many hollow places in it, that the greateſt part of his army might be concealed, and thoſe few which appeared might be thought through fear to have taken themſelves to thoſe upper grounds. And the more to increaſe this opinion in the enemy, he ſuffered them without any diſturbance to ſpoil and pillage even to his very trenches, keeping himſelf quiet within his camp, which was well fortified on all ſides. At laſt, perceiving that part of the enemy were ſcattered about the country in queſt of forage, and having advice that thoſe who were in the camp ſpent their time in drinking and revelling, he, before day-break, ſent out his light-armed ſoldiers, that they might prevent the enemy from drawing up in order, and might haraſs and diſcompoſe them when they ſhould firſt iſſue out of their trenches; and early in the morning he brought down the main body of his army, and drew them up in order of battle in the lower grounds. They now appeared to be a numerous and reſolute body of men, and not, as the Barbarians imagined, few in number and void of courage. The firſt thing that abated the confidence of the Gauls, was, that their enemies were the aggreſſors. In the next place, the light-armed men beginning the attack before they could get into their uſual order, or range themſelves in diſtinct troops, ſo preſſed upon them, that they were obliged to fight confuſedly and at random, without any diſcipline at all. But at laſt, when Camillus brought on his heavy-armed ſoldiers, the Barbarians, with their ſwords drawn, went vigorouſly to engage them; but the Romans holding out their javelins, and receiving the force of the blows upon that part of them which was guarded with iron, the enemies ſwords, the blades of which were thin and made of a ſoft metal, were immediately

diately turned back and bent double in their hands. As for their bucklers, they were pierced through and through, and grown ſo heavy with the javelins that ſtuck in them, that, forced to quit their own weapons, they endeavoured to ſeize thoſe of their enemies, and to wreſt the javelins out of the hands of the Romans. But the Romans perceiving them naked and unarmed, preſently betook themſelves to their ſwords, with which in a little time great ſlaughter was made in the foremoſt ranks, and the reſt fled, diſperſing themſelves all over the plain; for as for the hills and upper grounds, Camillus had beforehand poſſeſſed himſelf of them, and they would not fly towards their camp, becauſe they knew there would be no great difficulty in taking it, they having through confidence of victory neglected to fortify it. They ſay this fight happened thirteen years * after the ſacking of Rome, and that from this time the Romans took courage, and laid aſide thoſe diſmal apprehenſions they had conceived of the Barbarians; thinking now that their firſt defeat was rather the effect of ſickneſs, and the ſtrange concurrence of unfortunate accidents, than of the courage or force of their enemy. And indeed this fear had been formerly ſo great, that they made a law, *That prieſts ſhould be excuſed from military ſervice, unleſs in an invaſion from the Gauls.*

This was the laſt of Camillus's martial exploits; for the acquiſition of the city of Velitræ was a direct conſequence of this victory, it being immediately after ſurrendered to him without any reſiſtance. But there remained ſtill a hard conteſt as to civil affairs, to be managed with the people: for returning home elated with victory, they inſiſted with great vehemence, that, contrary to the ancient cuſtom, one of the conſuls ſhould be choſen out of their own

* There is an error here in the number, for this battle was fought twenty-three years after the taking of Rome.

body. The ſenate ſtrongly oppoſed it, and would not ſuffer Camillus to lay down his dictatorſhip, thinking, that, under the ſhelter of his great name and authority, they might with more probability of ſucceſs defend the rights of the Patricians. But when Camillus was ſitting upon the tribunal, diſpatching public affairs, an officer ſent by the tribunes of the people commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his hand upon him, as if he would ſeize and carry him away; upon which ſuch a noiſe and tumult followed in the aſſembly, as was never known before; ſome that were about Camillus thruſting the officer from the tribunal, and the multitude below calling out to him to ſeize the dictator. Being at a loſs what to do in this exigency of affairs, Camillus would not lay down his authority, but taking the ſenators with him, he went to the ſenate-houſe; and before he entered, turning towards the capitol, he beſought the gods that they would bring theſe troubles to a happy concluſion, ſolemnly vowing, when the tumult was ended, to build a temple to Concord. A great conteſt ariſing in the ſenate, by reaſon of contrary opinions, at laſt the moſt moderate and moſt agreeable to the people prevailed, which was, that of two conſuls, one ſhould be choſen out of the commonalty. When the dictator had proclaimed this determination of the ſenate to the people, they were immediately (as it is natural to ſuppoſe) pleaſed and reconciled with the ſenate, and accompanied Camillus home, with loud acclamations: and the next day being aſſembled together, they voted, that, in memory of this reconciliation, and agreeable to Camillus's vow, a temple ſhould be built to Concord in view of the Forum where their aſſemblies were held; and to thoſe feaſts which are called *Latin*, they added one day more, ſo that they were to continue in all four days; and for the preſent they ordained, that the whole people of

Rome

Rome ſhould ſacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an aſſembly for the election of conſuls, when Marcus Æmilius was choſen out of the nobility, and Lucius Sextius the firſt of the commonalty; and this was the laſt of Camillus's public tranſactions. The year following a peſtilential ſickneſs infected Rome, which, beſides an infinite number of the common ſort, ſwept away moſt of the magiſtrates, among whom was Camillus; whoſe death cannot be called immature, if we conſider his great age, or greater actions; yet was he more lamented than all the reſt together, who then died of that diſtemper.

The Compariſon of Themistocles with Camillus, by Mr Dacier.

IT will be eaſy to diſcover, from what has been ſaid relating to the lives of Themiſtocles and Camillus, that there is a ſtrong reſemblance between thoſe two great men in many particulars. They were both deſcended from families unknown before, or at leaſt not rendered illuſtrious by any noble exploits, till they firſt raiſed them out of their original obſcurity, and by their own perſonal merit and virtue tranſmitted to their poſterity that honour and diſtinction, which they never derived from their anceſtors. They were engaged in many important diſputes with ſtrangers, and in many more with their fellow-citizens. They both ſuffered from the ingratitude of thoſe very citizens, whom they had ſo ſignally ſerved; and both the one and the other wreſted their country out of the hands of Barbarians. The times in which they lived ſo nearly reſembled each other, that as they were equally remarkable for public diſſenſions and tumults, ſo they produced men of a like genius and character to

reſtore tranquillity, and preſerve the people committed to their care. To this conformity of the times wherein they lived, was owing that conformity which appeared in their exploits and fortunes; for the circumſtances of both required that their courage and reſolution ſhould be directed by prudence. And yet, notwithſtanding this general reſemblance, a near view will diſcover many things, wherein they remarkably differ. We are therefore to collect all theſe circumſtances, that the whole object being reduced into a narrow compaſs, we may at once diſcern the difference and agreement that may be found between them.

In the firſt place, Camillus ſeems to have the advantage of Themiſtocles in the number of his exploits. He gained many victories, conquered many towns, recovered ſome from the enemies, relieved an army that was beſieged, preſerved his colleague who had engaged the enemy unſeaſonably, and put a glorious end to many dangerous wars. There is nothing in the life of Themiſtocles to be ſet againſt theſe noble actions, but his having put an end to the wars in Greece, his victories over the Perſians in the ſeveral engagements at Artemiſium, and the total defeat of them in the ſtraits of Salamin.

As for the firſt of theſe exploits, Camillus did not do more ſervice to the Romans by his courage in terminating ſo many wars, and triumphing ſo often over the enemies of his country, than Themiſtocles did to Greece by his wiſdom in ſuppreſſing her inteſtine diviſions, reconciling her cities, and uniting the citizens in the ſame intereſt. For though nothing may be thought more eaſy than to put a ſtop to domeſtic diſputes at the approach of a common enemy, which will force the contending parties to unite; yet what Themiſtocles did on this occaſion may be ſaid to be the effect of conſummate prudence, when he prevented thoſe cities, which

were the rivals of Athens, from taking the benefit of the king of Perſia's aſſiſtance towards the reducing Athens, and with her all Greece, into a ſtate of ſubjection. And indeed the importance of the ſervice, and the imminency of the danger, appeared ſoon after the death of Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles's actions at Artemiſium will bear no compariſon with Camillus's encounters with the Æqui, the Volſci, and the Latins; for, in all of them, Camillus obtained a complete victory, whereas what Themiſtocles did at Artemiſium ſerved only to ſhow the Grecians that the Barbarians might be conquered, notwithſtanding the formidable number of their ſhips; and thoſe actions, properly ſpeaking, were no more than the preludes of a future victory.

But if we are to form a judgment of mens actions, rather from their importance than numbers, the ſingle battle at Salamin was more conſiderable than all the exploits of Camillus put together, whether we conſider the ſituation the Athenians were in at that time, or the amazing power of the enemy, who, whilſt he covered the ocean with his ſhips, had a moſt formidable army at land; or if we judge from the greater numbers who owed their ſafety to that victory. Camillus, it is true, preſerved Rome; but Themiſtocles, in ſaving Athens, was the preſerver of all Greece, which without him muſt have ſunk into a deplorable ſervitude. And certainly that action which is uſeful to many, muſt be more glorious than that which is advantageous only to a few.

It may be ſaid that Camillus owed all his ſucceſs to himſelf alone, whereas Themiſtocles ſhared the honour of his victory with the general of the Lacedæmonians. It is true, Eurybiades fought in the ſtraits of Salamin with great courage and reſolution; but without the intervention of Themiſtocles's prudence, that courage would have been uſeleſs,

leſs, nay probably it would not have been put to the trial. So far is that general from leſſening the glory of Themiſtocles, that he rather ſerves to illuſtrate it; for at the ſame time that Themiſtocles ſaved Greece, he ſaved that general likewiſe, and all his forces. If on that occaſion Themiſtocles gave manifeſt proofs of a conſummate prudence, either in bringing the Greeks under a neceſſity of fighting in the ſtraits, or in chuſing the moſt favourable time for the attack; he at the ſame time gave amazing inſtances of an invincible patience, the ſure ſign of a great mind, and of a moderation, which proves he had nothing in view but the good of the public. He reſigned the command to Eurybiades at a very critical conjuncture, when emulation and obſtinacy, which might have paſſed with the vulgar for courage and magnanimity, would undoubtedly have ruined the affairs of the Grecians. For it is certain, he would never have overthrown his enemies by his courage, if he had not firſt got the better of his allies by his condeſcenſion. And I queſtion, if Camillus can ſhow any thing of this ſort equal to it, or to that greatneſs of mind which Themiſtocles ſhowed in bearing patiently the inſult of Eurybiades, that he might have time to lay before him coolly his ſentiments and advice. That man muſt be well acquainted with the way to true glory who could purſue it by a conduct in appearance ſo ill adapted to obtain it, as was the tamely enduring provocations and affronts.

If it be in the actions of men as it is in tragedies, where the ſhorteſt moments artfully managed, produce the moſt ſurpriſing events; and raiſe our admiration to the higheſt pitch by the terror and compaſſion they inſpire us with, there is nothing in the life of Themiſtocles comparable to the miraculous incidents which abound in that of Camillus. They are not adventures governed and conducted by human force or reaſon, but inextricable difficulties

ties unravelled, as it were, by the intervention of a deity. It is certain, that, in Themiſtocles, the intricate part of the plot is well prepared. Xerxes like a torrent ſweeps away the inhabitants and cities of Greece; the oracle commands the Athenians to incloſe themſelves within walls of wood; upon this they embark, having firſt ſent away their wives and children, with the old men, into the neighbouring iſlands; and now the Barbarian is maſter of Athens; from whence is their deliverer to come? who ſhall defend a people already vanquiſhed, and whoſe laſt hopes are placed in their fleet, which conſiſts of no more than one hundred and eighty galleys, with which they are to encounter a navy of twelve hundred ſhips? Themiſtocles's courage, reſolution, and prudence give a new life to the Athenians, and the event is fortunate; but this cataſtrophe has nothing in it of the marvellous; all is ſimple, all is uniform: whereas in Camillus every thing is equally miraculous; Rome in aſhes; the victorious Gaul maſter of it; he encamps amidſt its ruins; lays cloſe ſiege to the capitol, which is defended only by a handful of men; and they, reduced to the laſt extremity, ready to ranſom their country, the ſad remains of hoſtile flames, and Rome is weighing in the balance againſt a ſum of gold. At this inſtant Camillus arrives, and effects her deliverance, not with gold, but by the ſword. This air of the marvellous appears in almoſt every one of his actions, whether he is relieving an army beſieged on a mountain; defeating an enemy the moment after their victory; leading citizens back into the city the very day in which they had been driven out of it; or reducing to obedience a town that had revolted. But as theſe moments of ſurpriſe are the effects of chance, or the ſports of fortune, and ſeem fitter to entertain a reader fond of wonderful events, than to form in us a right judgment of actions, and teach us wherein one man excels another, let us

leave

leave theſe things to the painters, and the poets, to be by them diſplayed on the ſtage, and in their paintings; whilſt we confine our conſideration to thoſe peculiarities of Themiſtocles and Camillus, which they owe only to themſelves; that we may thereby be enabled to make an exact eſtimate of their virtues, and their vices.

They had both the ſame thirſt after glory; and both exerted the ſame courage and conduct when put to the trial. But it is neither courage, conduct, or cunning by which men are to be judged of; becauſe they are qualities which they may be ſaid to have in common with many other animals. That which infinitely dignifies human nature, and raiſes it in ſome degree to a reſemblance of the ſupreme being, is that provident foreſight, in which Themiſtocles had exceedingly the advantage over Camillus. He could ſee no further than juſt before him; whereas Themiſtocles ſaw afar off, and had an eye that could penetrate into future and diſtant events. At the time when the Perſians, overthrown at Marathon, were frighted back into the very heart of Aſia, he foretold their return, and prepared his fellow-citizens for new conflicts with thoſe Barbarians. It is true, as Cicero has obſerved, that this foreſight failed him upon ſome of the moſt important occaſions in his whole life; for he could neither foreſee what he had to expect from the Lacedæmonians, what would befal him from his own countrymen, nor the conſequences of his promiſes to Artaxexes. But what man is there that is infallible?

It may be ſaid of Camillus, that he likewiſe foreſaw that the diviſion of the Romans, and the ſuffering a part of them to go and dwell at Veii, would infallibly prove the ruin of the ſtate, for which reaſon he oppoſed it with great firmneſs and reſolution; but in this important ſervice of Camillus to his country we ſee indeed a proof of wiſdom and prudence, but nothing of that foreſight which looks like

like ſomething prophetical. This action of Camillus moſt reſembles that of Themiſtocles when he prevented thoſe cities which had not appeared in arms againſt Xerxes from being expelled out of the council of the Amphictyons, as was inſiſted on by the Lacedæmonians, who would by that means have engroſſed all the authority, and made themſelves maſters of Greece.

But if Themiſtocles was preferable to Camillus in foreſight, Camillus no leſs excelled Themiſtocles in juſtice, a quality infinitely ſuperior to the former. In all the exploits of Themiſtocles one may diſcover that his courage is joined with cunning; whereas every thing in Camillus is ſimple and great. Themiſtocles never performed any thing that deſerves to be compared with the taking of Falerii, of which Camillus made himſelf maſter by the high veneration the beſieged had conceived of him for his juſtice in ſending back to them the ſchoolmaſter, who had betrayed their children into his hands; for to have given ſuch a proof that even in war itſelf there are ſome laws which no good man will violate, and that juſtice ought to be preferred to victory, is an action more heroic than the conqueſt of the univerſe.

As for their conduct in time of peace, we ſhall find there was no ſmall difference between them in that reſpect. Themiſtocles was a great patron of the people, and every thing he did during his adminiſtration tended to ſecure the populace againſt the incroachments and ambition of the nobility; whereas Camillus, though he behaved with moderation to the people, yet was inclined to favour the ſenate and patricians.

Themiſtocles oppreſſed all thoſe who were moſt capable of ſerving the republic, and procured the baniſhment of Ariſtides, though he was the moſt virtuous man of the age; whereas Camillus was ſo much a ſtranger to that ſpirit of envy and intrigue, that

that he always choſe the beſt of the citizens to be his colleagues, and ſuch as he knew would be moſt ſerviceable to their country; thus making it appear that a man may communicate his authority to others, without giving them a ſhare in his glory.

The Athenians had been accuſtomed to lay out in games and ſhows all the revenue ariſing from their mines in Attica. Themiſtocles had the courage to aboliſh this improvident cuſtom, and cauſed the money to be employed in building of ſhips, which proved afterwards the preſervation of the ſtate. There is nothing in the life of Camillus that will ſtand in competition with that important ſervice, unleſs we put into the balance his prudent regulations during his cenſorſhip, by which he obliged the young men to eſpouſe the widows of thoſe who had been ſlain in the wars, and made orphans liable to taxes. But theſe laws ſeem to have been the neceſſary effects of war; whereas Themiſtocles's decree proceeded ſolely from his prudence.

The ſeverity with which Camillus treated Manlius, who was thrown headlong from the capitol was very juſt and commendable, if it was merely the effect of his love of liberty and regard to the conſtitution; and if the indignation he had conceived againſt that criminal was not aggravated by an inward jealouſy of a rival renowned for many noble actions, who could produce thirty ſpoils taken from enemies ſlain by his own hands, forty honorary rewards conferred on him by the generals under whom he had ſerved, among which were two *mural* and eight *civic* crowns, and who, having repulſed the Gauls when they were ſcaling the capitol, had acquired by that important ſervice the glorious name of *Capitolinus*. But Themiſtocles gave as high an inſtance of his zeal for liberty, when he condemned a Greek to death for having explained to the Athenians the diſhonourable terms the King of Perſia offered to them by his ambaſſadors, and for having the

the impudence to make the language of the Greeks ſerve to interpret to them the imperious will of a Barbarian. Nor is he leſs to be commended for his ſeverity to Arthmius of Zela, who by means of Themiſtocles was declared an enemy of the Grecians and their allies, and himſelf and poſterity were branded with infamy, for having imported the gold of the Medes, not into Athens, but into Peloponneſus. I know not if this example of ſeverity againſt corruption was not more neceſſary and uſeful to Greece in that conjuncture, than the puniſhment of Manlius was to Rome: for the Perſians were in thoſe days more to be feared for their gold than their courage; for which reaſon Demoſthenes affirmed that this ſingle action made the Grecians more formidable to the Barbarians, than the Barbarians had ever been to the Grecians.

There is another circumſtance which rendered Themiſtocles's adminiſtration very remarkable; for when the Barbarians had laid Athens in aſhes, he did not only rebuild it, as Camillus did Rome, but he fortified it, and joined it by a wall to the Piræus. But there are two things to be conſidered in this undertaking, the effect it produced, and the manner wherein it was executed. The effect was only the creating in their allies a jealouſy of their power, and prompting the populace to be more ſtubborn and mutinous by ſtrengthening them againſt the nobility; and the manner in which it was executed could contribute but little to his honour, ſince it was accompliſhed by fraud, ſubtilty, and injuſtice; and no action with theſe marks upon it can be laudable, though it may be profitable. For this reaſon Demoſthenes, in comparing theſe walls of Themiſtocles with thoſe built afterwards by Conon, gives the preference to the laſt; for as much as an action performed openly is preferable to one effected clandeſtinely and by fraud, and victory more glorious than circumven-

tion and ſurpriſe, ſo much are the walls of Conon to be preferred to thoſe of Themiſtocles. For Conon erected his after he had quelled his enemies, and all thoſe who could have obſtructed him in his deſign; whereas Themiſtocles built his by impoſing upon his allies. No reproach like this ever ſullied one of the actions of Camillus, where openneſs and ſimplicity, the eſſential marks of a truly great and noble mind, conſtantly ſhone in full luſtre.

We cannot excuſe either in Themiſtocles or Camillus the pride and pomp wherewith both the one and the other inſulted their fellow-citizens, though it may be more excuſable in Camillus than Themiſtocles; for it did not appear in him till his many exploits and ſignal ſervices had given him ſome ſort of pretence to it; whereas that of Themiſtocles broke out at a time when he had not performed any thing conſiderable that could give him the leaſt colour for it. Beſides, Camillus gave a proof of a modeſty never ſufficiently to be admired, when, after he had defeated a party of the Gauls near Ardea, he refuſed to take the office of general upon him, which had been offered him by the Romans then at Veii; and in obedience to the laws of a city, which was not then in being, and was no better than a heap of aſhes, waited till that choice was confirmed by the handful of Romans who were defending the capitol, whom he conſidered as the only citizens, who had a right of conferring that office upon him; a moderation almoſt without example, far unlike that ambition which was daily viſible in Themiſtocles.

If in order to judge rightly of men we are to conſider them not only in their proſperity, but to view them likewiſe when fortune is at variance with them, we ſhall in that caſe find a very great difference between Themiſtocles and Camillus. One of them was baniſhed without any apparent reaſon; unleſs

unleſs it was a judgment of heaven upon him for having done the ſame thing by Ariſtides, whom he drove into exile purely out of jealouſy of his extraordinary worth. The other was baniſhed for vigorouſly oppoſing a deſign which tended to the abſolute ruin of his country. Themiſtocles was baniſhed after he had ſaved his country, and Camillus preſerved his after he had been baniſhed. Themiſtocles's exile was his reward for having expelled the Barbarians, and the arrival of Barbarians was a puniſhment for the exile of Camillus.

If theſe cauſes and conjunctures are very different, ſo was the manner in which both the one and the other ſupported his diſgrace. Camillus at firſt vented his paſſion in imprecations, which ſhowed too violent a reſentment againſt the Romans; but one may at the ſame time diſcover ſome tokens of the affection he ſtill retained for them even in the height of his indignation: for he wiſhes to ſee them diſtreſſed only that he may have an opportunity of delivering them, and thereby of ſecuring to himſelf a glorious revenge for their injuſtice towards him, which is the only revenge worthy of a hero. We meet with nothing of this in Themiſtocles. He does not indeed curſe his country, but he goes and proſtitutes himſelf to her enemies. Themiſtocles in his exile ſullies the glory of his former exploits; he pays adoration to a Barbarian, and begs his pardon for the damage he had done him in the ſervice of his country; whereas Camillus adds freſh laurels to thoſe he had obtained before, and continues to the end of his days to ſignalize himſelf with new victories. He excels all other Romans before his exile, and after it he excels himſelf. The imprudent promiſes of Themiſtocles to the king of Perſia put him at laſt under a neceſſity of killing himſelf; and there appears ſomething ſo heroic in this ſentiment of preferring death to the fatal neceſſity either of revenging himſelf upon his country, or of

being ungrateful to his benefactor, that I have in ſome ſort applauded that reſolution, though I know very well that all wiſe men will upon an impartial judgment condemn it. This violence committed on himſelf will without doubt be conſidered by ſuch not only as an undeniable mark of weakneſs, but a certain ſign that he knew not what ſcope to give to his reſentment againſt his country, nor how much he was bound in gratitude to his benefactor; ſo that for fear of being wanting to either he was equally wanting to both; for by this action he deprived each of them of the ſervice he owed both the one and the other, as a ſubject and a friend. And no good man, eſpecially one concerned in the management of public affairs, ought to die merely for his own ſake, but for the ſake of his friends, or his country.

Camillus's behaviour was of a quite different nature; he had no occaſion to paſs the ſeas in ſearch of enemies to Rome; he had them round about him; he went not to humble himſelf before them, and ſolicit them to take the benefit of his diſgrace, and employ his head and hand againſt his ungrateful country: he put in practice that excellent doctrine, which Plato was at that time recommending in the ſchools at Athens, that a good man, however ill uſed by his country, preſerves always in his own heart a mediator in her behalf, and ſeeks all opportunities of relieving her, and doing her ſervice. Accordingly this exalted piety in Camillus was rewarded with a felicity which no mortal ever obtained before. He was no ſooner reſtored to his country, but he reſtored his country with himſelf, and brought Rome back to Rome, which gave him a right to ſhare with Romulus in the title of her founders; and when he had thus preſerved and reſtored Rome, he hindered her from falling again into the ſame calamities out of which he had raiſed her; for when he was fourſcore and three years old,

old, he once more defeated the Gauls, who returned with an army much more formidable than the firſt. But all thoſe glorious exploits had been loſt, if like Themiſtocles he had given way to his reſentment; ſo true is it that anger is an imperious ungrateful miſtreſs, making an ungenerous return for the ſervices ſhe receives, and ſelling her pernicious counſels at a very dear rate.

Having thus drawn a parallel between theſe two great men with regard to their conduct in peace and war, and their behaviour under misfortune, there remains nothing more but to conſider them with relation to their ſentiments of religion, in which there ſeems to be no great difference between them. Themiſtocles implores the aſſiſtance of the gods in all his undertakings. When he had obtained the victory at Artemiſium, he conſecrated a trophy to Diana, under whoſe inſpection he had performed this firſt exploit; and after that, as an acknowledgment that prudent counſels are ſo many inſpirations ſent from the gods, he erected at Salamin a temple to the ſame goddeſs in return for the good counſel he received from her.

In this article Camillus comes not in the leaſt behind Themiſtocles. After the conqueſt of Veii he rebuilt the temple of the goddeſs Matuta. He tranſported the ſtatue of Juno to Rome, and took care to have that ſervice performed with the moſt religious ceremonies. He with much labour and perſeverance diſcovered the foundations of thoſe temples that had been deſtroyed by the fire, and built a new one to that god, who had foretold the coming of the Gauls. In ſhort, he cloſed his life with an act of religion, conſecrating a temple to Concord, out of gratitude to the gods for the reunion of the people with the ſenate. He will without doubt be reproached for having in contempt of the gods cauſed four white horſes to be harneſſed to the chariot in which he entered Rome on the day of his

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his firſt triumph, and for neglecting the ſolemn vow he had made of conſecrating to Apollo the tenth of the ſpoils taken at Veii. Themiſtocles alſo is to be condemned for making religion a cloak to his political deſigns, when by the aid of fictitious prodigies and miracles he brought the people into his meaſures. But it appears to me equally unjuſt to accuſe, or defend two perſons, whom the gods themſelves ſeem to have juſtified. For thoſe all-powerful beings gave both the one and the other ſignal marks of their favour; they ſupported their courage, and animated their prudence on every occaſion, and crowned all their enterpriſes with ſucceſs and glory; and what is ſtill a ſtronger and more extraordinary mark of their protection, they revenged the wrongs done to Camillus by ſinking Rome under a deluge of calamities; and by inſpirations, dreams, and oracles they twice preſerved Themiſtocles from the ſnares of his enemies. Now, though we cannot paſs any certain judgment upon men from the favours they receive from heaven, ſince the nature of the gods is goodneſs itſelf, and they being ready to forgive, and ſlow to puniſh, do not always manifeſt their judgments in this life; yet it may very juſtly be preſumed that they would never have ſhown ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of their favour to two perſons, who had openly defied them by their ingratitude and impiety.

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The End of the FIRST VOLUME.